



The Antiquary.



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Ivelchester (Ilchester).

BY HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

THIS foremost town of Somersetshire, as it was in the early fourteenth century, when county towns were provincial capitals, has now long since sunk to a fourth-rate condition, being not even noticed in an average map of England and Wales. It lay on the Foss-way nearly midway between Bath and Exeter, where that line of road crossed a river big enough to enter into military calculations of attack and defence, and this position made it a post of importance. It was, in fact, the *tête-de-pont* to that crossing, and virtually commanded the great highway of the south-western counties. Thus its main street coincides with that Foss-way, running nearly north-east and south-west, and terminating upon gates in its town wall, named inconsistently "North-gate" and not "South" but "*West-gate*." This main street, known in old documents as the *Regius Vicus* or *Regia Via*, and latterly as West Street, divides the town area, as it lay in the middle ages within its wall-circuit, in most unequal proportions, about seven-eighths of it lying on the south-eastern side of its line, and about one-eighth only on the north-western. The river referred to is the Ivel, or Yeovil, which gives its name to the neighbouring market town on the edge of Dorsetshire, which has now for some centuries outstripped Ilchester in importance. The *enceinte* of the ancient wall, with its ditch fed from the river adjacent, flanking it on the north-west side, was of a shape approaching a flattened ellipse, with its major axis running from north-east to south-west, *i.e.*, directly transverse to the

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main street before mentioned, which accordingly ran parallel to the minor axis a long way from the centre. Dr. Stukeley, whose plan, drawn early in the last century, this description follows, saw there, in the possession of a gardener of a Mr. Lockyer, then resident, many square paving bricks, and the same gardener had "taken up remainders of the wall, with many coins, bricks, tiles, and other antiquities." He refers particularly to a brass of Antoninus Pius, with a reverse of Britannia seated on a rock with a military ensign, which he engraves. The Roman pavement mentioned by the same antiquary as leading down to the river Ivel near the bridge has since wholly vanished. Another large brass was said to have been found under the line of the wall's foundation, but it does not seem to have been produced to Dr. Stukeley. It may still possibly lurk as a stray in some far-away collector's hoard. More recently, in the repairs of the sole surviving parish church of five, or possibly six, which once adorned the town, about a score of coins (*nummus*, half-*nummus*, and *denarius*) were found, mostly of the Valens and Valentinian period. The "*Chepe Street*," or street through the market-place of the town (now Church Street), runs obliquely across it nearly north and south, diverging from the same North-gate before mentioned, contiguous to the Ivel bridge, at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and outside the South-gate, where it cut the ancient line of wall, becomes the road to Yeovil. Immediately outside that South-gate, right and left of it, are some rather massive platforms of ancient earthworks, supposed to have been connected for defensive purposes by a transverse across the Yeovil road, and strengthening the approach on that side. The line of ditch on this side has become a public road, as also on some other portions of its circuit.

The number of churches anciently existing is variously given, but five is the total of which there is tangible evidence from the muniments of Wells Cathedral, and from the fact that procurations and Easter dues are still payable by the rector of the sole now extant Church of S. Mary the Elder (or Greater), for four other parishes as well as his own—*viz.*, those of S. Mary the Younger (or Lesser), S. Michael, S. John, and S.

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Peter.* Leland, 1540, found only one church not in ruins. Camden, 1590, speaks of that one as a "very mean" one—not, perhaps, intending the word "mean" in its modern extreme sense—and records *six* as the ancient number; but his sixth seems to have been the chapel of the ancient nunnery of Whitehall, which survived for some time as a "free chapel," after the dissolution of the religious houses.† The number *sixteen*, conjecturally favoured by Collinson in his *History of Somersetshire*, and recorded by Dr. Stukeley as a local tradition, may safely be dismissed as fabulous. The tower of the remaining church, S. Mary's Major, is an early thirteenth century octagon with buttresses of solid proportions, and simple lancet lights. It suffered from the erection of a gallery within the church in 1611, the staircase thereto pertaining cutting into its southern wall; but recent careful restoration has applied a healing hand to this mutilation. It is remarkable that the oldest-known document relating to the town, and containing the honoured Saxon name of Hereward, although undated, is referred by competent judgment to precisely the same period as this tower—the reign, viz., of King John.

Besides its five churches and religious houses, of which latter more anon, the town had at least two ancient crosses—one, the market cross, standing in the market-place not far from the point just within the North-gate, where the two streets above referred to diverge. A deed dated 1427 speaks of a messuage as being "ex opposito cruci in mercato juxta les shamles (shambles)." This has since disappeared, and been replaced by a modern erection not quite on the same spot.

* But Domesday Book mentions a Church of "S. Andrew in Givelchester" as held by Bishop Maurice of the king. This would make a sixth. But whether it existed contemporaneously with the other five may be questioned. The Rev. Thomas Hugo, *Somersetshire Nunneries, Whitehall in Ilchester*, p. 48, states that in 1502 the churches of S. Mary the Less and S. John the Baptist were united to S. Mary's the Greater, owing to poverty and insufficient maintenance.

† The Rev. Thomas Hugo, *ib. sup.*, notes that the Priory subsisted until 1435 or later, and that in a list of chaplaincies, etc., from which a subsidy was levied, occurs one held by a John Boney (known by other evidence to have been chaplain of Whitehall, Ilchester), the date of which list is 1463. Thus the change from priory to free chapelry would fall between 1435 and 1463.

The other cross stood near the southern extremity of the second of these, the "Chepe Street," and probably not far within the South-gate of the town. A deed dated 1405 speaks of a spot as "juxta crucem Sti. Petri . . . infra muros," which indicates this position. The cross of S. Peter, however, has wholly vanished. It is some confirmation of these facts that parts of *two* crosses, of rude and early fashion, together with an early English pillar, were found during the recent repairs of S. Mary's, Ilchester, "in the thickness of the southern wall of the old church." The present rector of Ilchester, whose letter I here quote, and to whom I am indebted for some previous items of information, adds that this church has now lately received a new south aisle, new roofs for nave and aisle, besides chancel repairs, new choir-seats, prayer-desks, and seats for the congregation.

Remains, at any rate, of the Church of S. Michael are thus recorded by Leland—

The greatest token of ancient building that I saw yn at the toune ys a stone gate archid and voldt, and a chapelle or chirch of S. Michael over it.

I take this to have been one of the gates of the town from the custom, of which there are many instances, of placing gates and exposed positions under the tutelage of S. Michael, although dedication to him is by no means limited to such localities. Examples are S. Michael's at Oxford, near the north gate of that city, the "Michel-thor" at Bonn on the Rhine, S. Michael's, Bongate* (Bondgate), Appleby, and the well-known S. Michael's Mount, Cornwall. The Church of S. Peter in Ilchester stood, probably, near the cross of the same dedication, which has been already placed near the South-gate. That of S. Mary Minor is indicated in a deed, 1345, dealing with a tenement in Chepe Street—

Exposito ecclesiæ Mariæ Minoris, inter tenementum . . . ex parte una, et tenementum Priorissæ Albæ Aulæ ex parte altera.†

* "Gate," of course, in the northern counties is equivalent to "street;" still the position of this church, as compared with that of S. Lawrence, in the heart of the town of Appleby, confirms the view stated above.

† A deed somewhat later—1370—mentions a burghage and curtilage situated "in Regio Vico (the Foss-way) de Yewelcestre, ex opposito Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ inter burgagium . . . et burgagium Mariæ Priorissæ di Nywehalle." This "Nywehalle"

It thus stood presumably near the nunnery of Whitehall, which latter is known to have been near the North-gate, in the angle between the Foss-way and the north wall of the town. If S. Michael's Church stood at one of the two remaining gates, either the East or the West-gate, that of S. John may have probably occupied a site near the other. Thus we have four churches near the four gates, and the fifth, which now alone remains, near the centre of the town. The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV., 1291, mentions a "Decanatus Ivelcestr, Ivelcestr, P'och' Sti. Joh'is," which may be taken as evidence of the existence of a church of that dedication.

Of the religious house of Whitehall I have already been led to speak incidentally. Two of the earliest deeds relating to the town contain the name of "Johannes Albe de Ivelcestre." The occasion of the deeds is a nuptial union, but transcending the simple domestic interest of an ordinary wedding. A young couple, the bridegroom of Saxon, the bride of Norman name and probably kin, were seeking one of those alliances which in the course of ages effaced the blood-feud of Senlac between the nationalities which he and she represented. The names are Ralph Hereward and Matilda Le Keu. John Albe is the witness of one deed, conferring on Matilda land in a simple settlement, with life-interest in default of children to the husband, and reversion to the heirs of her father, the settler of the dower; and is the principal of the other deed, for Matilda was his grandchild by William Le Keu, her father, having married his daughter. Possibly John Albe, or White, was a Saxon himself, for he confers on his grandchild not land, but the more plebeian dowry of a shop in Chepestrete, "unam seldam in Chepestrete," and nearly all the witnesses to the two deeds are the same. If John was Saxon, the bride was of mixed parentage, and the alliance is only thrown back a stage earlier. Now this John Albe, or White, is supposed by Mr. Buckler to have

is believed to be identical with the "Alba Aula" mentioned above. The site was supposed by Mr. Buckler—*Ilchester Almshouse Deeds*, p. 182—to have been represented in 1866 by the lawn of Mr. Harris's garden, somewhere between his house and the river. "A very fine yew," he adds, "formerly grew near the spot," which he surmises to "have overshadowed the walls of Little S. Mary's Church."

given his name to *Whitehall*, and built and endowed the same as a religious house. But the mention of Whitehall to which he refers occurs about a century later—1304—and the name is one open to many other suppositions besides that of John "the White" as its founder. Indeed, Mr. Buckler himself, in his "supplemental notes," tacitly abandons his theory, reciting from Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* a statement that

William Dacus the Bishop (of Bath and Wells) gave the White Hall in Ivelchester and other houses and lands, for founding a hospital for poor travellers, to the honour of the Blessed Trinity, between A.D. 1217 and 1220. In the ninth year of King Edward II. this is called the Hospital of the Holy Trinity; but before the seventeenth year of that king it was probably changed into a House of Religious Women, under the government of a Prioress.

Thus the founder turns out to be the local bishop, and the filmy connection with John White vanishes.

We have seen a Prioress Mary in 1370; we find a Prioress Christina and a nun Joanna Whyttokes in 1423. These ladies in two deeds jointly convey lands to Robert Veel (the biggest man in the record of Ilchester) and others, and appoint their attorney to put him in possession of the same.*

There was a leper hospital outside the walls of the town. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, the famous Grosetete, the most famous churchman between Becket and Wolsey, leaves it a legacy in 1212. In West Street (the time of the Foss-way) there stood near the West-gate, squeezed up between the street and the western wall, somewhat like Whitehall, as we have seen between the same street and the northern wall, a Friary of the Dominican, or Black, preaching friars—"unquestionably," says Mr. Buckler, "one of their early habitations." An *Inquisitio post-mortem* of the time of Edward I. mentions the "Fratres Predicatores de Ivelcestr," and seems to prove this. The friars seem to have extended their boundaries outside the wall of the town, and their buildings formed probably the most conspicuous pile which its area presented to the eye. Camden found

* The Rev. Thomas Hugo, *ib. sup.*, says, "On a review of the annals of Whitehall, I am constrained with sorrow to admit that it is by far the worst example of a mediæval nunnery that I have ever met with."

remains of their church, which showed it to have been magnificent; but in his time its north transept was used for spinning silk. Not a vestige of the friary now meets the eye, although the spade would doubtless reveal ample traces.

More important than any of these in the history of Ilchester is its Almshouse, founded by Robert Veel, its most conspicuous townsman. It links together the old order of things and the new. Founded in 1426, and still further confirmed under Royal (Edward IV.) Letters Patent of Amortization (= mortmain), it subsists still, and "the Corporation of Ilchester may now be said to be kept alive solely by its relations with the noble bequest of Robert Veel."

The question at once arises, Who or what was Robert Veel? Mapoudre, now Mapowder, near Blandford, in Dorset, is the first place where he is said to have held lands. In 1367 a John Russell and wife make over those lands to him, for what consideration does not appear. This last item, indeed, is what the ancient deeds of transfer mostly withhold, probably with the object of evading some impost. One might suppose from reading a number of them that men of landed estate were in the common habit of making a free gift of their property to others, which of course is absurd. But the remarkable powers of acquisitiveness shown by Robert Veel indicate means at his command to an extent which is surprising in a man whose origin is obscure. He was not a cleric or a knight, as is clear from the absence of either designation in the numerous deeds. He *was* one of four "discreet and select men" of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, to whom the Bishop's Commissary-General in 1410 commits the administration of the estate of a deceased intestate. Before this—1386—he is named as one of two to whom the master and brethren of a hospital at Bath give powers of attorney; and in 1397 among the witnesses to a deed is "Robertus Veel, *qui hoc scripsit*." These facts taken together suggest that he was a "limb of the law" of some sort, who beginning with a little ready money, and having a keen appetite and a cool judgment for landed investments, became possessed, towards the end of a long life, of wherewith to endow his almshouse with nearly

two hundred acres of highly valuable land, including one entire manor besides outlying parcels in others; and as he had at least one daughter, Alianor, from whose marriage with a Coker the Cokers of Mappowder were descended, we must suppose that he left her well provided for besides. He is probably represented on one side by the modern scheming attorney with a keen eye for mortgages, save that his modern representative does not, as a rule, sink a large portion of his estate in a charity; but the "ages of faith" were not then extinct. The first thing that strikes one on glancing at the provisions of his deed of foundation is the enormous disproportion between the means devoted and the end appointed. From all the assets of these goodly acres no more is contemplated than a maintenance for from five to seven poor men *senio confractos et ad laborem impotentes*! Such a provision is absurd on the face of it. The half-dozen aged poor might have lived like fighting-cocks and had state funerals at death on half the money. But as he makes the bailiffs of the town of Ilchester the ultimate trustees and administrators, with an allowance to them of 13s. 4d. a year, there can be no doubt that an indefinitely large margin of benefit to the municipality of Ilchester was what he intended. The coroner, constable, and six of the more trustworthy burghers were to audit the accounts yearly. This was not really an independent check; for the coroner, though a county officer, would reside in the chief town, and share its interests; and the other auditors are as closely municipal as the bailiffs themselves. It was actually an endowment of the corporation. And the motive for this is apparent in the history of the town, which, being of old municipal rank, had obtained several charters from successive sovereigns; but through the absence of trade and of any staple of industry, and being the centre of a purely agricultural region, could not keep pace with its privileges, and had several times forfeited its rights through inability to pay its periodical fine. This vacuum Robert Veel's bequest seems to have filled, for we find that within a century of his death, when assets had had time to accumulate, the charter was renewed. It is not too much to assume that he foresaw and designed this

result of his bounty, although what advantages he saw in disguising the endowment of the municipality in the doles of an almshouse is a more difficult matter of conjecture. But times were troublous, royal needs were often pressing, the rapacity of Government was unscrupulous. These may have been Veel's sage reasons for seeking the protection of the "dead" hand. In modern times, besides maintaining from ten to eighteen almsmen, the charity pays a considerable balance, under a scheme drawn up by a late Master of the Rolls, towards educational purposes. The municipal trusteeship has also been largely modified; but for nearly four centuries the bailiffs, etc., of Ilchester alone "ruled the roast," and no doubt took handsome slices from the roast they ruled—I mean, of course, for the public use and benefit only. I believe there is no evidence to impugn their honesty in the discharge of their trust. Veel seems to me to have been one of the many Englishmen who, in a remote and narrow sphere of action, have shown a public spirit, sagacity, and foresight worthy of a high place in the councils of their country had fortune opened access to them thereto. But, free from

"The last infirmity of noble minds,"

he sought not to rise above or shine beyond the provincial horizon in which his lot was cast, although within it we find him associated with the foremost worthies of the county, as Sir William Bonville, of whom and his family copious details were given in *THE ANTIQUARY* for June last, Sir Hugh Luttrell, Sir Thomas Daubeneye, Sir William Haukeford, the houses of Fauntleroy, Deverelle, and Clopton being also represented among the signatures joined with his own. As the Almshouse has done more than anything else to retard the decadence of the little town, so too the deeds connected with the lands which Veel amassed and bequeathed to it have preserved a great deal of interesting local record concerning it. These documents passed, of course, with the lands, as tracing the history of their titles, into Veel's hands and those of his trustees; and many obscure points of the archæology of conveyance receive illustration from them. I recommend Mr. Buckler's painstaking compilation of the Ilchester Almshouse Deeds to all students of

that subject at first hand. The cumbrous and circuitous methods of conveying land are a reproach not wholly wiped from our statute-book at this day. How heavily they pressed in the early fifteenth century may be judged from a single instance, as follows:

In 1404 Reginald Atte-Water by deed gives to his son Richard with other three all his lands and tenements in Northover, a village close to Ilchester. Three days later Richard, the son, by another deed, resigns to those other three all his right under his father's gift. Two days later Reginald, the father, by another deed, resigns to the same other three all his right in the same lands, etc., which they with his son Richard lately had taken by his gift. One year and eight months later the Keeper of the Fee in "the Honour of Gloucester" gives to the same three a receipt for 3s. 4d. paid by them for condoning transgression (trespass?) in acquiring the same lands. Let us hope that after that "the three" obtained quiet possession. Robert Veel was one. If I do not mistake, this triple-twisted skein of transfer was due to his legal acumen; but he had overlooked the rights of "the Honour" aforesaid, as being outside his run of practice. The "Keeper" was comparatively quick in hitting the blot, and in twenty months got smart-money out of him.

These deeds of transfer are of various kinds, either purely beneficiary, as when a father transfers a fee simple to a son, or to a daughter on her marriage; or they transfer a mere holding under a superior lord, with a reservation of all customary rents, dues, and services; or they perhaps denote exchanges of lands one against another, although we have only the deed on one side. The phrase "*redditus et servitia*," p. 76 *et al*, shows how rent emerged from and eventually displaced the feudal service which followed the land. The old-fashioned forms of nominal rent, as "by rendering a red rose on the feast of S. John the Baptist," or "a pair of gloves at Easter," and the like, are of frequent recurrence. Although money considerations are seldom mentioned, yet they occur often enough to give us a notion of the gradual rise in the value of land, and fall in that of money. Thus, in a deed referred to the reign of Edward I., an acre of land pays a

rent of 3*d.* a year. In 1405 an acre specified as arable in the same village pays one of 4*d.* In another deed of Edward I.'s time, a messuage and 11 acres arable pay one of 5*s.* 4*½d.* Here we should probably deduct one-fourth of the rent for the house, which will leave a rent of between 4*d.* and 5*d.* per acre for the land. Again, we find 2 acres of meadow land let for 2*s.* in 1380. Again, in 1416, we have 16 acres of arable and 1*½* of meadow fetching together 16*s.*, or 5*½d.* an acre; again, 18 acres of arable and 2 of meadow yield in the same leasing 21*s.*, or nearly 1*s.* 1*d.* per acre all round; again, 5 acres arable and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of meadow, together with "a close called Whyffynes," yield 5*s.* 8*d.* The "close" is an unknown quantity; but, if the whole lot made up 6 acres, we should have a rent of over 11*½d.* per acre. Taking the average of these three lots, we should arrive at 10*d.* per acre. But in 1413, at which period Robert Veel "flourished," we find one messuage, one cottage, and three curtilages, with 40*½* acres of arable and 4*½* of meadow, yielding together 46*s.* 8*d.*; or, allowing, as before, a fourth for the houses, the land-rent would be over 9*½d.* per acre.* In the year 1566 the terms of a lease are as follows:—Henry Lyte and his wife "grant, dymyse, and let," to A, B, and C, in consideration of 66*s.* 8*d.*, well and truly paid, 14 acres of land, A, B, and C covenanting to pay "a heryet of their best cattaille," on the death of any one of them, to Lyte's estate. This Elizabethan lease suggests what indeed is to be gathered from other hints in the course of these documents, that money-rent only formed a portion of the consideration on which land was held. Customable services, and fines either on taking seisin or at periods of lives, formed an important item of the whole value. In the time of James I., however, we seem to arrive at a purely commercial transaction in letting. The corporation of Ilchester then let 20 acres of

* Professor Rogers, in his *History of Prices*, vol. iv., p. 128, says, "At this time, (1530) the rental of average arable land did not exceed, as it did not in the fourteenth century, 6*d.* an acre." The same writer mentions 108 acres arable as let for £14 in 1455, or at about 2*s.* 7*d.* per acre, which is not easily reconciled with the previous statement; nor either of them with the facts mentioned in the text above, which I commend to his study in any future edition of his valuable work.

meadow and pasture, described as "lying and being in" Ilchester, for £14 13*s.* 4*d.*, or 14*s.* 8*d.* per acre. Here all feudal incidents seem rubbed off, and the land may be supposed to show its natural value. But this was meadow-pasture close to the town, and would naturally be in value far above the average. Other curious odds and ends of antique custom emerge as we peruse these deeds. Thus, in 1403, a widow seems to have resumed after her husband's death her maiden name; for "Joanna Fateman" there describes herself as "quondam uxor Willi. Cole," and as being "in pura viduitate." An agreement to let messuage and land in the time of Edward I., after fixing the rent, reserves "the suit in my court of the same village, and the assize of bread and beer." The coroner and the constable figure as officials of high rank in county and in town. "King Edward the son of King Edward" is the early style for Edward II. In 1476, Robert Grey, consignee of what had once been Robert Veel's lands, in making them over to Master Richard Swanne and others, inserts in the deed a defiant notice of perpetual warranty "against John Abbot of Glastonbury and his successors," which looks as if the Abbots of that house had a bad name for attempting to seize their neighbours' goods. An instance of the importance attached to a seal in ratifying a document is found in the following: "Because," says Walter de Milton, in 1346, "my seal is unknown to most persons, I have taken care that the seal of the Deanery of Llandaff should be affixed to this document." "And I," adds the Dean of Llandaff, "at the request of Walter himself, have affixed my seal to these presents." The same formula is repeated in 1402 by John Herewarde, who borrows the seal of William Whyttoke. On the whole, as in this deeply inland bit of Somersetshire, the land with its produce and the buildings raised upon it formed nearly the only marketable commodities, so in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the trade therein was much more brisk than one would have expected. This no doubt called forth the acquisitiveness of Robert Veel, but his munificence was independent of circumstances. Let those who "require his monument" go to the town of Ilchester and "look around."

Accounts of Henry V.

BY SIR J. H. RAMSAY, BART.

THE accounts of this reign do not disclose any facts of such political interest as those of the previous reign. They are, nevertheless, an essential part of the history of the time. Henry was an able and efficient ruler, who understood his own position thoroughly. With the man whom all the world, at bottom, regarded as the true heir to the throne sitting at his table, regard for parliament and the forms of the constitution was for Henry V. a primary law. In return parliament treated him with fitting liberality. During the nine and a half years that he filled the throne he received $10\frac{1}{2}$ subsidies from parliament, $10\frac{1}{2}$ from the convocation of Canterbury, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ from that of York, besides one supplemental grant of 6s. 8d. on the £1 from stipendiary priests. If the incomes of these poor clergymen were rated at their full value, this must have been a most cruel impost, amounting to an income tax of 33 per cent. With reference to the liberality of the clergy, we may remark that from the spring of 1414 the see of Canterbury was filled by an ex-diplomatist, the king's faithful servant, Henry Chicheley; while the northern province was ruled by another true Lancastrian, Henry Bowet. Bowet was the man who, as chaplain to Henry of Bolingbroke, came over to England in 1399 to demand livery of seisin in his master's name, and was imprisoned by Richard II. for his pains.

If we compare the grants received by Henry IV. with those received by his son, we find that the father received in thirteen years and a half only 8 subsidies from parliament, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ from Canterbury, and he, relatively to the length of his reign, received more than his predecessor had done.

The lay subsidy, a fifteenth from counties and a tenth from towns, appears to keep up its amount, or nearly so, although Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the diocese of Durham, were still exempted, on the score of the depressed state of those counties through the continuance of border warfare. Thus the first half of the subsidy, voted in May 1413, yielded in the course of

the ensuing year £17,992; the second half yielded about the same sum. The first of the two subsidies granted in the second year yielded, during the first term after it became due, not quite £34,000, leaving £2,000 still to be raised. Probably, one with another, the ten subsidies did not make up £36,000 a-piece.

The clerical tenths appear to have fallen off more materially. The proceeds of a subsidy granted in the second year only amounted to £10,500, including some arrears from the grants of the first year. Probably the total never reached £12,000.

The customs' duties throughout the reign were levied at the old rates—namely, tunnage at 3s. the tun of wine, poundage at 12d. on the £1 value of general goods, and wool at 50s. the sack from natives, and 60s. from aliens. In 1415 an attempt was made to extort an additional 10s. the sack from the latter class, but the tax could not be borne, and the government had to remit it.*

The yield of the customs appears to have run from £40,000 to £42,000 a year. £40,658 was the sum of the customs between April 1410 and April 1411, in the previous reign. Our analysis of the receipts of the second year of Henry V. gives the amount as £41,930, while a memorandum drawn up by the Privy Council, in May 1421, gives the amount for the past year as £40,676.

The Old Crown Revenues exhibit a downward tendency. The "ferms," or fee-farm rents, paid by the counties and burghs, had fallen, both in actual amount and in purchasing power. In many cases the crown had been forced to grant remissions to places or districts which had suffered decay. Of course places that had thriven and grown rich paid no more than the old rents. Again, the same nominal sum only was paid, though the currency had been depreciated 50 per cent. since the accession of Edward I.; and, lastly, the money prices of all articles had risen. In the receipts of the second year the Old Crown Revenues, with Wales and Cornwall, but without the duchy of Lancaster, only stand for £8,239. In the first year of Henry IV. they reached nearly £15,000, and the memorandum of May 1421, above-

* *Rot. Parliament*, iv. 6, 64. *Proceedings Privy Council*, ii. 262.

mentioned, gives them as over £15,000; but as no details are given, we cannot be sure that their items correspond exactly with those in our analysis. But these receipts were liable to great fluctuations. A forfeiture, a death, an unlicensed marriage or two, might make a substantial difference in the proceeds of a year. The Earl of March was fined 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.) for leave to marry as he pleased.* He was a rich man, and he stood in the delicate, not to say invidious, position of a man who had, in the eyes of most people, a better claim to the crown than the king. Lady de Roos, widow of Baron John, who was killed at Bauge, paid £1,000 because she had not only married again without leave, but distinctly derogated, by marrying a simple esquire, Roger Wynteworth by name. This, however, occurred early in the next reign.

The proceeds of the Hanaper figure in the second year for £2,754. In the enrolled foreign accounts of the reign we get special accounts under this head, and from these it appears that the returns might vary from £4,000 to £1,000 in the year, the average being £2,300. These were the net proceeds after deduction of office charges, etc., which, one year with another, came to nearly £600 more.

The proceeds of the Mint, again, seem to have been above the average in the second year. From the same foreign accounts we learn that the gross returns of the first four years of the reign amounted to £5,646, or £3,091 nett. Of this sum only £935 was derived from the coinage of silver, the rest being derived from percentages on the coinage of gold. This influx was doubtless due to the reduction of the currency introduced in 1411, the debased coin driving out the old; the preference for gold was probably due to some unsuspected difference in the standards or the charges for coining the two metals. The demand for the new coin must have been exhausted during these four years, as three subsequent years only produced £647 nett in all; the average of the seven years

would thus seem to be little more than £600 a-year.

The receipts from the Alien Priories sink into insignificance, the king having assigned them to new charitable foundations or favoured individuals.

The above figures imply a legitimate average revenue of only £102,000 a-year. Yet the totals of the Issue Rolls, which we append, exhibit an average expenditure exceeding £122,000. The reader will also notice that a large proportion of the Rolls do not furnish their own totals, and in these cases we cannot be sure that the Roll is complete. The average apparent expenditure, therefore, may have been larger.

Again, the Receipt Rolls, which we do not publish, are in a very incomplete state; only five of them give full totals. These with eight others that have been added up privately give an average income of £146,000 a-year, the two sides of the account utterly failing to balance. This is a new feature, but possibly if we had the full totals of all the Rolls, the amounts might be found to balance after all. The difference between the legitimate income, as we have termed it, and the stated expenditure must be ascribed as usual to the loans, sometimes repaid within two days, sometimes not at all. Thus, in February 1420, we find a sum of £562 advanced on a certain day and marked on the margin of the Receipt Roll as repaid two days later. On turning to the corresponding Issue Roll we find the repayment duly entered; but the sum actually repaid appears as £460 only, the difference apparently being a commission retained by the Treasury for the trouble of the transaction. Thus the Receipt Roll is swelled by £562, and the Issue Roll by £460. This is but a small instance. We have single sums of £2,200, £2,700, £2,800, thus borrowed and repaid within the term, the Issue and Receipt Rolls being swelled accordingly.

The Issue Rolls are also swelled by entries connected with loan transactions of a somewhat different nature. It often happened that when a crown creditor had obtained an order for payment of his debt out of some specified branch of the revenue, the officials would only allow him to take part of the money to which he was entitled; in these cases, instead of merely entering on the Issue

* The full amount had not been paid at Henry's death; only £2,700 was paid at the first (Michm 3 Henry V.) The reader will note that the amount of the fine was considerably above that of all the Lancaster revenues, which must have exceeded his.

Roll the amount actually paid as so much paid on account, the practice was to enter the whole amount due as having been paid, the sum retained being treated as a loan from the creditor, for which credit was given him on the Receipt Roll. To take an actual instance. Sir John Neville had obtained an order for payment of £1,231 18s. 9d., due to him for the wages of the garrison of Carlisle. On the 22nd February, 1420 (7 Henry V.), fourteen sums, making up £1,231 18s. 9d., are entered on the Receipt Roll as having been paid in from the customs of Boston and Hull; on the margin the sums are marked as having been paid directly to John Neville for the wages of Carlisle. The payment to Neville is entered in the usual manner on the corresponding Issue Roll under the same date. But in fact Sir John only received £831 18s. 9d., £400 being kept back; and we ascertain this fact by observing that upon the Receipt Roll four of the above sums, which together make up £400, are cancelled, and a fresh entry is interpolated of a "mutuum" or loan of £400 from Sir John. Neville received "tallies" or orders for future payment of this debt, which became void through the death of Henry V. Early in 1423 he presented a petition to the regency council of Henry VI., asking that fresh tallies for the £400 might be issued to him, and an order to that effect was given (*Proceedings Privy Council*, iii. 73). On the 12th May, 1423 (Easter 1 Henry VI.) Neville appears on the Issue Roll as receiving his £400—£20 in cash, and £380 by "assignment" of certain customs. On the Receipt Roll of the same date we have an entry of the payment from the customs in question of £380, with a marginal note, "assigned to Sir John Neville." But four of these sums, making £180, are again struck out, and re-entered as "mutuum" from Neville. A marginal note tells us that this £180 was repaid 21st May, *anno tertio*, i.e., 1425. Under this date on the Issue Roll payment in full is again entered, but again a reference to the Receipt Roll shows that Neville was only allowed to keep £80, £100 being carried on as a fresh loan. A marginal note tells us that this last £100 was paid off 4th December, 1427, and there at last the transaction ends; but by this system of bookkeeping one sum of £1,231 18s. 9d., paid in all to Sir John

Neville, does duty from first to last for £1,911 18s. 9d. on the Issue Rolls of Henry V. and Henry VI.

In working out the mystery of these cancelled and interpolated items of the receipt roll, I must acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Hall of the Record Office.

If the gross totals of the Rolls give figures which are in some respects exaggerated, there are on the other hand certain sources of revenue which do not appear on the rolls at all. Among these were the private estates of the crown—the Lancaster and Hereford estates. The proceeds of these were not paid into the Exchequer, but to the king on his own receipt. These revenues appear to have averaged about £4,600 and £4,700 a-year. Then, again, the "winnings of war" (*gaignes de guerre*) were considerable. In 1419 the city of Rouen was put to a ransom of 300,000 écus. Taken as they were at the rate of two to the English noble, the amount would be £50,000. Two years later a subsidy, or *fouage*, of 400,000 livres tournoises was obtained from the estates of Normandy, at the same rate that would come to £66,666 13s. 4d., more than a full lay and clerical subsidy from all England. These sums were not brought into the home exchequer, but they helped it by relieving it of charges that otherwise would have come upon it.

Whatever Henry V.'s income may have been, it was all spent. The cash in hand at his death appears to have been represented by 1000 lbs. troy of silver bullion in the military chest (*Proceedings Privy Council*, iii. 103).

Turning to the analysis of the issues, we find that the household expenditure is still large, chamber and the various wardrobe accounts absorbing in round numbers £41,000 out of £106,000. The special features are the disappearance of the private wardrobe; an account for arms kept at the Tower; and the largeness of the drawings for the chamber, which exceed £19,500. The increase under this head must be regarded as due to an altered mode of keeping the accounts. In the summer of 1415 we have a sum of £6,000 advanced from the king's privy purse for the pay of soldiers; another advance of the same sort occurs in the autumn.

A fragmentary household account of the first year exists, which gives the total of the weekly bills from the 23rd March to the 31st October, 1413, a period of 31½ weeks, as £8,600, or £275 a week; this includes the coronation feast, on which £971 was spent, being the average expenditure of a month. With alms and oblations, "Necessaria," fees and gowns, stocks in hand, and advances, the total rises to £12,846 for the period, or £21,400 a year.

Another account has been preserved which gives the totals of the household expenditure from the 1st October, 1421, to the day of the king's death (31st August, 1422) and on to the 8th November, being the day after his burial, when his household may be supposed to have been finally disbanded. The amount of the house bills is £17,225, or with alms, gifts, and sundries, £24,389. This includes, as these accounts always do, the value of all goods bought on credit, which appear to amount to nearly £8,000: of this, £4,685 was stated to be due to the men of Over Wollop, in Hampshire.

The king's daily offering at mass is said to be "magnus denarius valoris VII. den." This ought surely to be read "viii. den," the coin being seemingly a double-groat. Four shillings is the recurring item for daily alms.

The accounts of the great wardrobe proper—i.e., as a store of clothing, arms, and furniture—are practically complete. From the 21st March, 1413, to the 7th August, 1417, the amount drawn from the exchequer was £41,276, or about £9,000 a year, irrespective of foreign receipts and goods obtained on credit. This covers practically the portion of the reign that Henry spent in England. During the next three years, when he was campaigning in France, and unmarried, the totals sink to about £1,500 a year, debts and all. During the last two years, when he was married, the amount drawn was £6,863, with £2,053 due.

Many curious details could be drawn from these accounts. 21,000 silken garters ("garters de seric") strikes one as rather a large order. 355 pairs of boots ought to have lasted some time, while 4,412 pairs of slippers ("par sotular") would seem an inexhaustible supply. In connection with the stores of the great wardrobe we may notice a dismal

statement which may illustrate the sympathy due for "prisoners and captives" in the good old times. Murdach Stewart, eldest son of Robert, Duke of Albany, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Homildon. A petition presented to Henry V. in 1414 represents that the red worsted bed, mattress, and blankets on which the "Master of Fife" had slept for ten years were utterly rotten, and that his sheets had not been changed for two years (*Proceedings Privy Council*, ii. 337). An order was immediately given to serve out a bed, a mattress, two blankets, and two pairs of sheets from the great wardrobe.

The enrolled foreign accounts supply special accounts of considerable interest. Calais cost, one year with another, £24,000; yet the garrison only numbered 773 men, and their wages amounted to £10,022 4s. 8d. (see *Excerpta Historica*, 26-28); but provisions had to be sent from England for these men, and there was an expensive staff, besides the fortifications, to keep up. Ninety soldiers at Fronsac, the chief fortress in Gascony, cost £1,200 a year. As a set-off to this it is satisfactory to find that a warden and thirty-two scholars at King's College, Cambridge, could be boarded, lodged, washed, and generally "found" for £100 a year.

The household account of the ninth year, above referred to, gives the amount spent on "wages of war" during the period. The total appears to be £25,808, of which seemingly only some £14,000 was drawn from the home exchequer, the balance being defrayed from the ransoms of Rouen and Meaux. At that rate the reader may think that the war did not cost England much. Perhaps not; but the low rate of expenditure was partly effected by leaving everything unpaid that could be left unpaid. Henry owed money all round at his death. The bill for the Agincourt campaign was not yet settled. Some of Henry's most devoted supporters did not get their Agincourt wages till after his death. The very strictness of the discipline kept up by Henry abroad made the position of his followers more difficult. Gentlemen quartered in Normandy wrote home in doleful strains—"No pay, and not allowed to forage!" (see Collins' *Peerage*, viii. 106-108). But the hardest case was that of the Earl of Huntingdon, taken prisoner at

Baugè. £8,157 14s. 9d. was due to him for actual wages, independently of the prize-money specially promised to him for some Genoese carracks captured by him in 1417. The money would have doubtless paid his ransom, but for lack of it he must languish in French bonds (*Rot. Parliament*, iv. 247).

In the table of issues the totals, which are found ready added on the rolls, are marked with an asterisk. In the other cases the shillings and pence are omitted.

TABLE I.

ISSUES HENRY V.

FROM PELL AND AUDITOR'S ROLLS.

Reigned 21 March, 1413—31 August, 1422.

Year.	Term.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
			£ s. d.
1	East.	4 May—18 Sept., 1413 ...	36,133
—	Mich.	2 Oct., 1413—22 Feby., 1414 ...	59,783
2	East.	16th April—19th July, 1414 ...	57,207
—	Mich.	4th Oct., 1414—16th March, 1415 ...	48,750
3	East.	11th April (?)—3rd Sept., 1415 ...	47,100
—	Mich.	3rd Oct., 1415—13th April, 1416 ...	32,889
4	East.	30th April—3rd Sept., 1416 ...	108,830
—	Mich.	26th Oct., 1416—19th March, 1417 ...	119,072
5	East.	21st April—21st Sept. (Rolls damaged), 1417 ...	*
—	Mich.	4th Oct., 1417—9th March, 1418 ...	*49,143 10 6½
6	East.	4th April—29th Sept., 1418 ...	*73,975 2 2
—	Mich.	6th Oct., 1418—15th March, 1419 ...	74,382
7	East.	20th April—26th Aug., 1419 ...	*33,759 8 9
—	Mich.	2nd Oct., 1419—12th March, 1420 ...	53,168
8	East.	6th May—16th Sept., 1420 ...	76,064
—	Mich.	2nd Oct., 1420—19th March, 1421 ...	*40,907 0 8½
9	East.	1st April—4th Sept., 1421 ...	*88,369 18 9½
—	Mich.	1st Oct., 1421—19th March, 1422 ...	*53,688 7 5½
10	East.	20th April—26th Sept., 1422 ...	*59,154 15 1

TABLE II.

RECEIPTS. EASTER. 2 HENRY V.

16 April—13 Sept., 1414.

(1)	Old Crown Revenues (with Duchy of Cornwall and Principality of Wales)	£ s. d.
(2)	Customs (with ulnage of cloths)	3,790 13 3
(3)	Priorities Alien and vacant sees	7,142 19 6
(4)	Hanaper in Chancery	107 19 4
(5)	Lay fifteenth and tenth : second half of subsidy granted in 1st year	646 19 1
	Do., arrears of first half of same grant	17,664 7 3
(6)	Clerical tenth : arrears from grant of 1st year	731 16 2
(7)	Tower Mint and Exchange	1,658 13 2
(8)	Loans (of which £533 6s. 8d. repaid)	1,740 16 8
(9)	Sundries (arrears of old subsidies, etc.)	2,382 19 10
		36 15 8

Not added on roll.

35,303 19 11

TABLE III.

RECEIPTS. MICHAELMAS. 2 HENRY V.

4 Oct., 1414—18 March, 1415.

(1)	Old Crown Revenues (with Duchy of Cornwall and Principality of Wales)	£ s. d.
(2)	Customs (with ulnage of cloths)	4,448 17 1
(3)	Priorities Alien and vacant sees	34,787 14 4
(4)	Hanaper in Chancery	18 16 11
(5)	Lay fifteenth and tenth : first subsidy granted in 2nd year	2,107 9 4
	Do., arrears from subsidy of 1st year	33,973 0 0
(6)	Clerical tenth : grant of 2nd year	588 14 2
	Do., arrears from 1st year	9,824 5 5
(7)	Tower Mint and Exchange	742 5 6
(8)	Loans (all repaid)	874 3 4
(9)	Sundries (arrears of old subsidies)	2,133 6 8
		53 18 9

Not added on roll.

89,562 11 6

TABLE IV.

ISSUES. EASTER. 2 HENRY V.

16 April—19 July, 1414.

(1)	Household—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Wardrobe of household	3,199 11 6	
	Great wardrobe	14,337 4 11	
	Chamber	6,389 13 1	
		23,966 9 6	
(2)	Naval and Military—		
	Calais	11,172 10 0	
	Ireland	1,333 6 8	
	Berwick	1,250 0 0	
	Carlisle	625 0 0	
	Roxburgh	333 6 8 etc.	
		18,109 4 10	
(3)	Civil Service (with law and diplomacy)	3,798 9 10	
(4)	Public works	614 16 8	
(5)	Pensions and gifts (with arrears and advances)	2,020 15 8	
(6)	Sundries—		
	King's debts prior to accession, £4,180 13s. 3d.		
	Executors of Henry IV., £4,000 on account.		
	Translation of body of Richard II., £372.		
	Tower lions, £75.		
	Remission of wool duties, etc.	8,697 9 7	

Not added on roll.

57,207 6 1

TABLE V.

ISSUES. MICHAELMAS. 2 HENRY V.

4 (?) Oct., 1414—16 March, 1415.

(1)	Household—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Wardrobe of household	1,936 7 5	
	Great wardrobe	1,892 9 9	
	Chamber	13,174 0 4	
		17,002 17 6	
(2)	Naval and Military—		
	Calais	6,392 0 0	
	Carlisle	937 0 0	
	Roxburgh	533 0 0	
	Berwick	1,516 0 0	
	Aquaintain	869 0 0	
	Wales	380 0 0 etc.	
		18,503 2 8	

(3) Civil Service	4,729	6	5
(4) Public works	418	16	8
(5) Pensions and gifts	3,595	5	7
(6) Loans repaid	2,740	0	0
(7) Sundries—			
King's debts as before	£1,502		
Allowed to Dowager Queen			
Johanna	£134		
Allowed for damages suffered			
through Welsh wars	£66		
Tower lions and leopards	£35		
etc., etc.		1,762	9 6
Not added on roll.		48,751	18 4



Early Oriental Coins.

BY PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER.

THE art of coinage was, as Mr. Head has already pointed out in these pages, of Oriental invention. The first coins seem to have been issued at about the same time, the seventh century B.C., by the Lydians in the west of Asia, and by the Chinese in the extreme east; for M. de la Couperie, who has made a special study of Chinese coins, is of opinion that no Chinese coins can be given to a remoter age than this. When the Persians conquered Lydia they adopted the very useful art of coinage. If we exclude money issued by Greek cities under Persian rule and by Persian satraps on the occasion of some military expeditions, there were in the length and breadth of the Persian Empire but two classes of coins—the gold darics and the silver sigli, or shekels. The daric had on one side a figure of the king shooting with the bow; on the other side a mere punch-mark or incuse: it weighed rather more than a sovereign, and was of almost pure gold. The shekel was of nearly the same size, and bore the same types; but was only of two-thirds of the weight, almost exactly of the weight of a shilling. Twenty shekels were equivalent to a daric. It is interesting to find the equivalents of pounds and shillings circulating throughout Western Asia at a period so early.

Until the Persian Empire fell, darics and sigli were the only recognized currency be-

tween the Halys in Asia Minor and the borders of China. The Greek cities of the coast were not allowed to issue gold coin; but the Government did not interfere with their autonomous issues of silver and copper money, which bore types appropriate to the striking cities. And some of the satraps of the Persian king were allowed, more especially on the occasion of military expeditions, to issue silver coins, the types of which curiously combine Persian and Greek mythology.

During the life of Alexander the Great the coins bearing his name and his types circulated throughout Asia; and after his death the same range of currency was attained by the money of the early Seleucid kings of Syria—Seleucus I., Antiochus I., and Antiochus II., who virtually succeeded to the dominions of the Persian kings, and tried in many respects to carry on their policy.

In the reign of Antiochus II., however, the Syro-Greek kingdom began to fall to pieces; and with its decay Oriental coinage, as opposed to Greek, may properly be said to commence. About B.C. 250 the Greek satraps of the wealthy provinces of Bactria and India became independent; and the Parthian Arsaces raised the standard of a successful revolt on the southern shores of the Caspian. In the next century smaller kingdoms arose in Arabia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; and the Jewish people wrested their independence from the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes. In the far East rude tribes of Sacæ and Huns from the borders of China swept down on the eastern provinces of the Persian Empire, and founded dynasties, which seem, however, to have soon passed away.

I shall not speak of Asia Minor on the west, for that district was dominated by Greek and Roman influences; nor of China on the east. The vast space between these two extremes may be divided into three regions—(1) Armenia, Syria, and the country to the west of the Tigris and the Caspian; (2) Central Asia; (3) India and Afghanistan. We will speak successively of the coins of each of these regions, during the whole period which elapsed between the break-up of the Syro-Greek kingdom and the conquering spread of Islam—that is to say, from the third century before until the eighth century after the Christian era.

Central Asia.

In the course of the second century the Parthians, under their great king Mithridates, occupied all this region, or rather gained a sort of supremacy or lordship over it; and defended it for centuries from the attacks of the Greeks and Romans on the one side and of the Huns on the other. The Parthian silver coins consist of two distinct classes—regal and civic. The regal coins are of silver of the weight of an Attic drachm, 60–65 grains, and bear during the whole of Parthian history uniform types—the head of the ruling king on one side, and on the other the first king Arsaces seated, holding a bow. The civic coins were issued by the semi-Greek cities of Persia and Mesopotamia. They are four times as heavy, and present a greater variety of type; subsidiary copper pieces accompany each series.

As the Parthians were constantly at war with the Syro-Greek kingdom so long as it lasted, it may at first surprise us to find that the legends of the Parthian coins, except of a few of the latest, are in Greek. The date is indicated by the increasing complexity of these legends as time goes on. All the successors of the first Arsaces keep his name as their dynastic title, just as all the kings of Egypt are styled Ptolemy, and the Roman emperors Augustus; but they add to this dynastic name a constantly increasing number of epithets. In fact, the number of these epithets which occur on a coin is usually the readiest means of assigning its date. The earliest pieces bear only the legend Ἀρσάκου or βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου; but already the second king Tiridates assumes the title βασιλεὺς μέγας; his successors add a variety of epithets, θεοπαῖωρ, ἐπιφάνης, εὐεργέτης, and the like, until, under Orodes the Great, we reach the formula βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου ἐνεργέτους δικαίου ἐπιφάνους φιλέλληρος, which remains usual until the end of the dynasty. The last-mentioned title Philhellen is interesting, and refers to the fact that, at all events after the fall of the Syro-Greek kingdom, the Parthian kings were anxious to secure to themselves the goodwill of the semi-Greek population which dwelt in many of the large towns under their rule, such as Seleucia on the Tigris, Charax, and Artamita.

At these great cities was struck most of the heavier money above-mentioned. The type of these larger coins is more varied. Before the time of Orodes it is like that of the regal money; but after that time it is usually the Parthian king seated, receiving a wreath either from Victory or from Pallas, or more often from a city personified in a female deity who holds a cornucopia. The head of a personified city appears on the copper pieces which go with the civic coins. And both silver and copper bear a date, the year in which the coin was struck according to the Seleucid era, which begins in B.C. 312; sometimes even the month of that year. We thus gain a most valuable means of checking the dates of the events of Parthian history, at all events of the accession and deposition of the kings.

Once in the series we have a portrait of a woman, Musa, an Italian girl presented by



FIG. 1.—AN EARLY PARTHIAN KING.

Augustus to Phraates IV., who made so good use of her talents that she persuaded the king to declare her son Phraataces his heir, and reigned in conjunction with that son until he lost his life in a revolt.

The district of Persia proper seems to have enjoyed partial independence in Parthian times; and we may feel justified in assigning to this district a long series of coins which are usually called sub-Parthian; bearing on one side the head of a king, on the other usually a fire-altar and an illegible inscription in Pehlvi characters.

About A.D. 220, the princes of Persia revolted against their Parthian masters, and succeeded in wresting from them the supremacy of Asia. A great Persian dynasty then arose, beginning with Artaxerxes or Ardeshir the Sassanian, and ruled the East until the rise of Mohammedanism. The coins of the Sassanian kings present a great contrast to

those of the Parthians. Their execution is far neater and more masterly, and they show in all respects a reaction of the more manly tribes of Southern Asia alike against the debased Hellenism which had invaded the cities of Western Persia and against the barbarous Parthian hordes, who seem to have left scarcely a trace on the art, the religion, or the customs of Asia.

The great bulk of the Sassanian issues is in silver, flat well-wrought pieces of the weight of an Attic drachm, 67 grains. There are also gold coins weighing 110-115 grains, rather heavier than the contemporary solidi of Rome, and a few copper pieces. Gold and silver are of similar legends and devices, and throughout the whole of Persian rule preserve an almost unchanged character. On the obverse is universally the head of the king. The various monarchs have different styles of crown and coiffure, some-

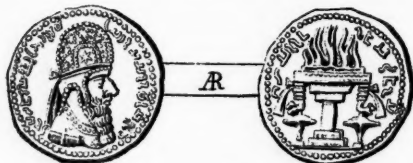


FIG. 2.—ARTAXERXES, PERSIAN KING.

times of a very extravagant character, the hair being rolled into huge balls and tufts. On his earliest coins Artaxerxes' head is closely copied from that of Mithridates I., the greatest of the Parthian monarchs, whom the Persian king seems thus to claim as prototype and model. Around the king's head on Persian coins is his name and titles in Pehlvi letters. Artaxerxes is termed the worshipper of Ormazd, the divine king of kings of Iran. Later monarchs vary the formula; on the money of some of the last, the mint where the coin was issued and the year of the reign are written in similar characters in the field of the reverse. The reverse type of all Sassanian coins is the same, the fire-altar, the symbol of worship of Ormazd, guarded by soldiers, or approached by the king in humble adoration.

The title king of kings, assumed alike by Parthian and Persian monarchs, is no vain boast, but an accurate description of their

position as supreme over the satraps or viceroys of provinces, who were almost independent rulers each in his own district.

Western Asia.

Between Armenia on the north and Arabia on the south, coins were issued during Parthian times by a number of small states which maintained a precarious autonomy against the Romans on the one hand and the Parthians on the other. Most of them disappear before the revived force of the empire of the Sassanians. Armenia was until the time of the Parthian Mithridates (B.C. 160) the seat of several small dynasties. We hear of Arsames, a king of Arsamosata, who received the Syrian prince Antiochus Hierax when he fled from his brother Seleucus; and of one Xerxes who ruled in the same district and resisted the arms of Antiochus IV. Both of these rulers have left us coins of Greek fashion, but bearing on the obverse a head of the king in peaked Armenian tiara. But Mithridates, if we may trust the history of Moses of Khoren, overran Armenia, and set on the throne his brother Vagharshag or Valarsaces, who was the first of a line of Arsacid kings of Armenia under whom the country reached a higher pitch of prosperity than ever before or since. We possess coins of several of these kings,—of Tigranes, who became king of Syria and son-in-law of Mithridates of Pontus, and whose numerous silver coins struck at Antioch bear as type the Genius or Fortune of that city seated on a rock; of Artaxias, who was crowned by Germanicus; and of Artavasdes, who was for a brief period maintained by the arms of Augustus. We also have a long series of coins in copper issued by the kings of Osroene or Edessa, whose dynastic names were Abgarus and Mannus, and who flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era, living in independence by no means complete, for the one side of their coin is generally occupied by the effigy of a Roman emperor.

The Arab tribes to the east of Palestine at some periods enjoyed independence under kings of their own. We have a series of coins of the first century B.C. struck by the Nabathæan kings Malchus and Aretas, partly at Antioch, partly at Petra. The inscriptions

and types of these coins are in earlier times Greek, and one Aretas calls himself Philhellen; but later the legends are written in local alphabet and dialect, and the portraits assume more of a native aspect. The short-lived Palmyrene empire founded by Odenathus and Zenobia, and put down by Aurelian, has also left numismatic traces of its existence in money quite identical in fabric, weight, and types, with the contemporary coins issued by Roman emperors at Alexandria. Some of the effigies of Zenobia on these coins may, however, be considered fairly good portraits for the time.

Further south, in Arabia, we find at least two tribes who issued abundance of coin before the birth of Mohammed. The Himyarites circulated great quantities of imitations of the Athenian coins of various periods, and at a later age of the money of Augustus. Types of their own they seem not to have

series of small copper coins, mean-looking, and only interesting for their connexion with Jewish history, and for the fact that they scrupulously avoid in their types any object of decidedly pagan meaning. The caduceus is one of the most pagan of these types in appearance, and that is probably intended merely as the symbol of peace or of victory, and not connected as in Greece with the god Hermes. The issue of shekels, after an interruption of some centuries, was resumed in the time of the revolt headed by Simon bar Cochab. But Jewish coins have been so often treated of, and in books so accessible, that I need not longer dwell on them.

India and Bactria.

One of the most important and interesting of all numismatic series is that of the coins issued on the borders of the Oxus and the



FIG. 3.—SIMON BAR COCHAB.

used, but they impress on their imitations of civilized coins a legend which identifies them as Himyarite. The people of Characene, a small district on the Persian Gulf, begin in the second century B.C. a series of tetradrachms of Greek style, the general appearance and types of which are copied from the coins of contemporary Greek kings of Syria and Bactria. The names of a series of these monarchs, Tiræus, Attambelus, and so forth, together with their order of succession, are preserved to us by coins.

A series which commands more general interest is that of the Jewish coins. It is now generally allowed that the earliest Jewish shekels, which bear on one side a chalice and on the other a triple lily with Hebrew inscriptions, were issued by Simon Maccabæus when the right to issue coin was conceded to him by Antiochus VII. of Syria. From the time of the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus we have an almost continuous



FIG. 4.—ANTIMACHUS, INDIAN KING.

Indus in the ages succeeding the revolt of the eastern provinces of the Syro-Greek empire in the reign of Antiochus II., about B.C. 250. The earliest rulers of the revolted regions were Diodotus and Euthydemus, followed in the second century by a bewildering crowd of kings with Greek names, whose coins have reached us to testify, in the absence of all historical record, to their wealth and splendour, their Greek language and religion, their skill in art and the wide extension of their conquests. The number of these rulers is so great that we must give up the hypothesis that they succeeded one another in a single royal line; rather it would appear that they belong to a number of different, probably rival, dynasties, who reigned in different parts of Afghanistan, the Panjab, and the Indus valley. Of all these powerful monarchs there is scarcely a trace in history; their cities, their palaces, their civilization,

have entirely perished; their coins alone survive. Hence, while in the case of Greece and Rome coins are aids to history, in India they contain all the history we can hope to recover. And by degrees, as the number of our coins increases, so that we can form wide generalizations, and as the spots where the pieces of different sorts are found are more scrupulously recorded, we may hope to be able to form an idea of the history of Greek India. At present we are far from being in so fortunate a condition; all that I shall now attempt is to gather from the coins a few general indications.

The coins prove that Greek rule in India went on spreading east and south during the second century. Greek kings ruled even at the mouth of the Indus, and as far as the Ganges. And their civilization, or at least that of their courts and armies, was thoroughly Greek; the legends of their coins are



FIG. 5.—HIPPOSTRATUS, INDIAN KING.

at first purely Hellenic, and well-executed figures of Zeus, Pallas, Poseidon, Hercules, the Dioscuri, and other Greek deities prove that they brought with them the religion of their ancestors. Probably there was a constantly setting stream of Greek mercenaries towards these remote lands, who formed military colonies in them, and peopled dominant cities which occupied in India the same position which the Greek cities of Ptolemais and Alexandria held in Egypt, and the Greek cities of Seleucia, Ragæ, etc., in Parthia.

In the middle of the second century the Parthian empire was driven like a wedge between Greek-speaking countries and the Græcized cities of the Cabul valley, cutting off intercourse between the two; and the Indo-Greek cities began at once to languish, and their inhabitants to become more and more barbarized. We can trace the whole process on coins. Eucratides and his suc-

cessor Heliocles introduce the custom of adding on the reverse of the coin a translation in Indian of the Greek legend of the obverse. And under some of the kings we find traces of the barbarization of Greek divinities, as when on a coin of Telephus we find strange outlandish figures of Helios and Selene, or when on coins of Amyntas we find a divinity wearing a Phrygian cap from which flames or rays issue.

Hermæus, who may have reigned early in the first century B.C., was the last of the Greek kings of Cabul. Then came the deluge. Swarms of Sacæ, Yu-chi, and other nomad tribes from the borders of China swarmed down upon the devoted Greek kingdoms of the East and completely overwhelmed them. But these barbarians adopted, like the Parthians, something of the civilization of those they conquered. The coins of Maues Azes and others of their kings bear



FIG. 6.—HERAUS, KING OF THE SACÆ.

Greek inscriptions, and the figures of Greek divinities, and conform in all respects to Greek usage, so that but for the barbarous character of the names of these kings we might have supposed them to be of Greek descent.

The powerful and wealthy Scythian kings who ruled in North-western India in the second century of our era—Kadphises, Kanerkes, and Ooerkes—have left us a wonderful abundance of remarkable coins, which are not seldom found in India together with the aurei of contemporary Roman emperors. These kings did not use issues of silver like their Greek and Scythian predecessors, but of gold. On one side of their coins is an effigy of the reigning monarch, and an inscription in barbarized Greek, giving his name and titles. On the other side is the figure of some deity accompanied by his name in Greek letters; and the number and variety of these types is enormous. We have

figures of Sarapis and Heracles, of the Persian Mithras and Nanaia, of the Indian Siva and Parvati, and even of Buddha. The Pantheon of these barbarians must have been of the most eclectic character.

Almost contemporary with the Græcizing dynasty of Kanerkes was the purely Indian line of the Gupta kings of Kanouj. These princes also issued large quantities of gold coins, which are of the greatest interest, as they are among the earliest dated monuments of Hindoo art. The inscriptions of these coins are in Sanskrit, and their types taken from the cycle of Indian mythology, especially from the cultus of Siva and his consort. These types are in character half-way between productions of Greek art and those of the more modern art of India, and show how great has been the influence of the former on the development of the latter. Besides the coins of the Guptas we have several interesting series of coins from India before the Mohammedan conquest, such as those of the Rajput kings of Cabul, which bear on one side a horseman and on the other a bull, and those of the Sah kings of Saurastran, which are more closely copied from the money of Greek rulers.



Ogle Tomb at Bothal.

By G. W. TOMLINSON, F.S.A.



AM glad to be able to supply to the readers of THE ANTIQUARY a copy of the record of the Ogles which is described as lost in Mr. Brailsford's interesting account of the tomb at Bothal Church (*see* vol. vii., p. 261).

I must premise that I never saw the stone in question, and my copy was taken from a transcript of the original by Mr. Thomas Sample, the agent of the Duke of Portland, and resident at Bothal Castle.

The inscription was on a stone 4 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. 9 in. The first paragraph, relating to Humphrey Ogle, formed the centre, and the rest of the Lords on shields around.

VOL. VIII.

Humphrey Ogle, Esqre., lived at Ogle Castle at the Conquest, to whom William the Conqueror by his deed without date did confirm unto him all his libertys and ridteys of his mannor and estate of Ogle in as ample a manner as any of his ancestors enjoyed the same before the time of the Normans. From Humphrey Ogle, Esqre., did descend seven lords and thirty knights.

(1) Robert *
the first Lord Ogle
married Isabella daughter and heayre of
Alyrsander Kirby
Knight.

(2) Owen †
the second Lord
Ogle married the
daughter of Sir
William Hilton
Knight.

(3) Ralph †
the third Lord
Ogle married the
daughter of Sir
William Jackson
Knight.

(4) Robert §
the fourth Lord
Ogle married the daughter of Thomas Lumley the son and heayre to George.

(5) Robert Ogle ||
son and heayre to
Robert the fourth
Lord Ogle married
the daughter of
Cuthbert Bartram
Knight.

* First summoned to Parliament in 1461, died in 1469.

† Living in 1485.

‡ It is stated in Dugdale's *Baronage* (p. 263, vol. iii.) that Owen Lord Ogle left a son Ralph, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Wm. Gascoigne, and had issue another Ralph, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Lumley. Ralph died in 1512.

§ Robert Ogle died in 1539.

|| This lord was never summoned to Parliament; he died in 1544. Dugdale says he married 1st, Dorothy, daughter of Hy. Widderington, and 2ndly, Jane, daughter of Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe.

- (6) Robert *
the sixth Lord Ogle
married Jane daughter and
heire of Sir Thomas Manners and
died without issue.
- (7) Cuthbert †
the seventh Lord Ogle
married Katharine one of
the co-heiresses of Sir Rannal
Carnbye Knight, being brother
to Robert the sixth Lord
Ogle, who had issue two
daughters, Jane the elder
co-heiress and Katharine
the second daughter.

The inscription, as given above, agrees exactly with Sir Harris Nicholas' account of the family in his *Synopsis of the Peerage*, but differs widely from Dugdale's *Baronage*.



Ireland in 1600.

By J. THEODORE BENT.

THE following account of Ireland is chiefly derived from the manuscript of one Haynes, who wrote on the state of that country after the great rebellion of 1595 had been in a measure quelled. His remarks are very much to the point, and many of them read as if they had been written nearly three centuries later.

The evils that affected Ireland in those days, as now, he sums up under three heads: those which arose from diversity of laws, customs, and religion. We will take his remarks in order, and in the course of his notes we shall find much to interest us, both from an antiquarian and a political point of view.

Firstly with regard to the laws.

The Irish have a special predilection for laws of their own, called the Brehon Law, in no way conformable to the statutes of Eng-

* Died s.p. 1562. Dugdale says his wife was a daughter of Sir Thos. Mauleverer.

† Cuthbert, the last Lord Ogle, died in 1597. The elder daughter married a younger son of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and Katharine the younger married Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck, and eventually became the heiress of her sister, who died without issue. The property is still in the hands of her descendant, the Duke of Portland.

land. It forms a certain rule or code of unwritten law delivered by tradition from generation to generation; for example, when a man commits a murder, the Brehon, or judge, will, by his power and authority, compound between the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, for some recompense which they call *Triach*, and the murderer goes free; which is the cause of vile murders in that country.

Such laws as these are carried on privily, for though they may yield a kind of subjection to the English authority, nevertheless, where the Irish dwell together they conceal many crimes which never come to the knowledge of the English governors. The country folks did, after a fashion, submit themselves to Henry VIII., and did acknowledge him as their liege, but they received many of their ancient privileges from Sir Anthony St. Leger, then Lord Deputy, and because a good course and sound establishment of the laws that were made was not continued amongst them, they took their old liberty and broke out into new disobedience; and the children of them that yielded themselves to Henry VIII. do now utterly refuse to obey, because they say that the laws of the English imposed on the Irish did not work their effect.

Without doubt laws ought to be made according to the inclination of the people, for Lycurgus, knowing the Lacedemonians to be bent on war, made laws for training them to the same from the cradle; and Solon, knowing the Athenians were not inclined to war, made laws which brought them up to learning and science. So that to bring Ireland to civility there must be made laws to reduce them to a more civil course of life, and then the laws of England will be better received.

The presence of a prince amongst a stubborn people is the greatest means to bring them to conformity to his word; it prevaieth more than the sword, and the word of an inferior magistrate. For the nature of the Irish is never to yield as long as they can stand by their own strength, but when they are brought to misery by power, then they crouch and humble themselves, seeking for favour until they beget new power, and then break out again into their former mischief.

Now the way to bring them to obedience is to keep them in continual subjection; if the laws of England had been fully executed and followed in the time of Strongbow, in King Henry II.'s time, it would have wrought much good amongst them; but after the subjection the English used them as vassals, and made their own will the law which was to keep them in civility. They continued thus as vassals until the controversy of the two royal houses of Lancaster and York, when the nobles that had possessions in Ireland came to help the party whom they favoured in England, and to save their English possessions; and when they were gone the Irish broke out into rebellion, and gained a liberty by the sword. But when the nobles returned, by little and little they regained their possessions. King Edward IV. sent his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to redress their wrongs; but he only cooped them up in narrow corners, and subdued them not; and when he was recalled to England the northern part broke out into rebellion again, and set up O'Neill as their captain, a man before of slender power and account.

At the time when Bruce invaded the country, the old English Pale was chiefly in the north from the point of Dunluce unto Dublin, but now about Armagh, Carlingford, and Belfast we find the most abandoned places in the English Pale, so that now it extendeth but to Dundalk toward the north. The old Pale was a most fruitful country, the ornament of the land; and yielded to the King of England 3000 marks of old money by the year.

The country being in a dangerous way of throwing off all obedience of late years, was curbed and kept in check by the brave devices of the most noble Lord Grey, who established the laws of England; but one great reason why English law does not suit Ireland is that trials are to be made by a jury of twelve, who being Irish, as most of necessity must be, care not for an oath, and deceive the Queen, or an Englishman of his right. Therefore another course must be had for trials, as this is injurious to the well-being of the state. An Irishman will forswear himself, and hold and maintain it not only lawful but commendable, and a duty.

Another mischief is this, that where the

common law cannot execute an accessory in Ireland in felony, one that receiveth stolen goods, without the apprehension of the principal is acquitted. So a rebel stealeth goods and bringeth it to another gentleman of good worth, who, being indicted, cannot be condemned, because the principal is not taken.

Again, another thing which hindereth the course of justice is this: namely, that they can make over and convey their lands to feoffees in trust, and by that means fugitives and outlaws enjoy the profits of lands which ought, by reason of their treason, to belong to Her Majesty.

There are also certain places of privilege, and Counties Palatine, which at the conquest were granted to good uses, and upon good consideration, to men deserving the trust. But now these are converted into dangerous resorts in Ireland; for instance, the county of Tipperary is the receptacle of all evil-doers, and of such as spoil the rest of the country. The towns corporate likewise have such privileges, and however fit they may have been before, are now most intolerable, buying and selling with thieves and rebels, and they are bound to no governance but their own. What can be more dangerous to the state of Ireland than the toleration of these liberties?

Besides this, there are many pernicious customs, such as making a distress for debt a felony, if the distress prove unlawful. And also a custom called "*Kinconghish*," which is a statute that provideth that every head of a sept, or every chief of a clan, is to be charged with any treason, felony, or heinous crime committed by any of the sept, or kindred. Hence it is but small encouragement to the chief to expose the evil doings of those under him.

Secondly, of their manners and customs.

Ireland was first inhabited, as it is supposed, by the Scythians in the northern parts, by the Spaniards in the west, by the Gauls in the south, and by the Britons in the east towards England. Of these nations they have retained sundry customs to these days, as will be seen from the following account of their customs, as they are now.

After the manner of the Scythians, they are in the habit of pasturing their cattle on

the mountains in herds, where they take up their abode, and live on the milk of their kine and on white meats for the most part of the year; and this kind of usage they call *Bollinge*, and the herds and herdsmen *Bolleghe*.

Now this kind of *Bollinge*, or following their herds, breedeth enormities in the country. For if there be any malefactor, or outlaw, he can betake himself amongst these "*Bolleghe*," and so live and do mischief without suspicion or punishment. Besides, many stolen cattle are received by these herdsmen, and many mischiefs and murders are wrought by their connivance.

Their habit of wearing mantles, and long hair, which they call *glibbs*, they have also from the Scythians. Now this mantle is a garment which carrieth with it many inconveniences, for it is a cloak for a thief. Since they wear it over their heads and ears down to their feet, a wicked villain may go through a town unknown, and carry under it any offensive weapon to murder, and do mischief.

The *glibb*, or long bush of hair, serveth likewise a wicked doer, to cover his countenance when he does not wish to be known; and if he wants to make him more unlike himself than before, why he has only to cut it off and then he is not the man.

Another custom they have from the Scythians is to yell and give a terrible outcry at their coming and winning of a battle, standing upon the deceased body of some captain or soldier deceased, to breed the more terror unto their foes. This cry is called *Ferragh ! Ferragh !* whereby they remember a former king or great man amongst them who fought and was victorious against the Picts, who was called Fergus or Feragus. Many other rites and customs they retain this day which they have from the Scythians, such as their short bows, and arrows with short and bearded heads, their broadswords, and their habit of going to battle without armour.

And furthermore, as the Scythians swore commonly by their swords, and by fire, as by two principal matters of vengeance and bloodshed, so do the Irish conjure, and charm their swords by making on the ground a cross with them, and thrusting the points into the ground before they go to battle, holding it a means of better success; likewise they swear

by their swords. Many such superstitious rites they yet observe, which argueth that they originally proceed from the Scythians.

They likewise have the fire and sun in great reverence. So have all northern people, who are much troubled with cold and darkness; and contrariwise the Moors and Egyptians, because the heat of the sun annoyeth them, they, when the sun riseth, curse and damn it as their notable scourge and plague.

Again, the Spaniards were in the habit of only wearing their beards on their upper lips, cutting off that which grows on the chin; and so did the Irish till a statute was made against it.

Among the Spaniards, the women have the trust of household affairs, and men of matters in the field. Many Spanish tricks are yet used among the Irish, such, for example, as the women ride on the wrong side of the horse.

Their bards come from the Gauls, and from the Ancient Briton, as Cæsar tells us, and are by no means given up amongst them to this day.

Their long darts come from the Gauls, also their wicker targets and long swords. The Gauls were wont to drink their enemy's blood, and paint themselves with it, and so the old Irish were wont to do.

The English that were in the beginning planted in those parts, are in their posterity much degenerated, and especially the two names of Geraldine and Butler, which have provided the state, notwithstanding, with many brave men, deputies there. Many of those who are come of the English are become so Irish that they have from private grudges against the English cast off their English names and become mere Irish, amongst whom it is said that the McMahons in the north were English descended of the Urslanes.

Also the McSwinies in Ulster were of the Veres in England, who disguised their names in hatred of the English. Also the Lord Bretingham, who was one of the most ancient barons in England, is become the most savage Irishman. The great Mortimer, too, forgetting how great he was at one time in England, is now become the most barbarous of them all, and is called McNemara. Not much better than they is the old Lord de Courcy, who, having lewdly sold all the lands and seigneries he had in England, is now become Irish.

It hath been observed that the Irish lan-

guage being permitted to be used by the English, hath been no small question to draw them further into their manners, and the nursing of English children by Irish nurses doth breed a smack of the language, and even of the nature and disposition, as can hardly be acquired by any other means.

Also the marriages which the English have made with the Irish hath much influenced the English with their barbarous and filthy conditions. The using of the Irish apparel also is a means by which to continue the Irish customs, for according to the attire their mind is conformed; there are statutes to inhibit it, but not executed.

The Irish in their charge on horseback, charge with their staff held above, and not as the English on the thigh. They ride but on little pillions without stirrups, jumping suddenly on the horse and going fast away.

There is used among the Irish a sack of leather, and not only horsemen but infantry wear it. The men on foot are called *galloweglasses*. The sacks were wont to be worn only on the battlefield under shirts of mail, but now the use of them is abused, being worn in civil places, and in towns, which abuse is to be removed.

To speak something of the *galloweglasses* and *kernes*; they are of the most barbarous life and condition, for they oppress all men; they spoil as well the good subjects as the enemy; they steal, they are cruel and bloody, full of revenge and deadly executions, swearers and blasphemers, ravishers of women, and murderers of children.

They are valiant and hardy, great endurers of cold, labour, and hunger, and all hardness, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, and altogether scorn death,—and surely an Irishman maketh as brave a soldier as any nation whatsoever.

There are among the Irish a people called bards, who are somewhat akin to poets or rhymers, who in their music set forth the praises of the worst and the opprobrium of the best; they encourage the younger ones to haunt after wickedness, giving them that praise which should only be accorded to virtue.

The Irish *horseboys* should be done away with, though they now serve the English

soldiers somewhat in looking after their horses, since there are no inns or ostlers to attend to them. These boys, when they have been a little trained up in the usages of peace, become *kernes*, and are most apt and ready to cut the throats of the English.

There are also another kind of people called *carrowes*, who live only by resorting to gentlemen's houses, and accustom themselves to play at cards and dice, and draw others to their lewd and evil life. These also should be reformed; and like unto them are testers, who go from one gentleman's house to another, carrying news from place to place,—a very dangerous race of people in very truth, who should be cut off by a marshal.

The Irish have a custom of meeting and assembling together upon a Rath, or hell, to parley, as they say, of matters of controversy between township and township, and between one private person and another; under which colour sundry bad people resort to the place to confer of evil practices, and come armed, and if they come across any English in their way they murder them, and there is none to tell.

Then there are certain round hills and square places called *Bannes*, strongly trenched for the purpose; in times past they were called Talkemotes, or places to confer. The Talkemotes were made by the Saxons where they would defend themselves if attacked unawares, and some, too, were cast up as memorials or trophies of men slain in battle.

The landlords let their lands but from year to year, or at will; neither the tenant nor his lord will take it for more, because the lord always looketh for change, and thinketh to see a new world, and the tenant will not because he can leave it at any moment he likes and fall into any wicked enterprise. The lord when he has the tenant thus disposable at will, if he hath a mind can bind him to what evil course he may enjoin him, and the tenant, too, may run into any wicked action without fear of losing any great matter, having no further stake in his land; whereas, if the contrary were the case, and if they had longer terms, they would manure the same, and be loth to adventure their living.

Thirdly, on the subject of religion.

They are generally Papists, yet most ignorant, knowing no ground for what they profess,

but may be rather termed atheists and infidels; they think it quite sufficient if they can say their Ave Maria and Paternoster. The first that came into Ireland to convert the people from atheism or paganism, was Palladius, sent by Pope Celestus, and he died there; then came Patrick, a Briton, and taught them, by whom they were carried to their blind belief.

And the Protestant clergy are not in a manner what they should be, though the laxity of the present rules of the Church, owing to the troubles, does to a certain extent excuse them, and besides, this ignorance and negligence have created amongst them much havoc. There are in our clergy there all evils lurking, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly inconstancy, sloth, and generally disordered lives. The clergy in Ireland that do enjoy livings are in manner laymen, for they neither read the scripture, preach, nor minister the sacrament; nay, even, they christen after the popish manner, and they take all tithes and other fruits, and pay a share to the bishops.

The bishops of the Irish Church when a benefice falleth in, put one of their own servants or horseboys to take up the tithes, and become themselves rich, and purchase lands, and build fair castles, and cover the abuse saying they have not sufficient ministers to bestow them on. And of a truth there are next to no English ministers of any worth that will come over here, unless such as for bad behaviour have forsaken their country, and furthermore, the benefices are of such small profit that a man cannot live by them; besides the people are so dangerous, uncivil, and so untractable, that not even a stout and strong captain durst live amongst them.

And lastly, we must say a word about the governors who are sent over to rule the island in the name of the Queen.

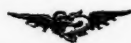
The governors are not what they should be, too apt to wink at many things which they might reform; because since their time of office is so short, they will make no effort to quiet the state, least the next succeeding governor finding it in peace should obtain the praise. And so they think it sufficient if they can keep down the flame till they themselves be gone, that it may break out into open mischief when the other cometh.

In short, the governors always reverse the

order of their predecessors, studying to bring in innovations for their own glory, whereby the country is in a doubt which way to turn, and as a colt that knoweth not the hand of the rider, is aptest to turn head contrary. The course then that hath been taken heretofore, touching the reformation of this realm by these former governors, hath been to no purpose, but to make that worse which was bad before, and therefore not to be continued. The Irish should never be dealt with peaceably and gently, which will never reclaim them, but with a strong power to subdue them, for submit themselves to the English they will not, because they hate the English government.

To make new laws and statutes to tie them to a reformation is also bootless, for before they can be reformed they must learn how to embrace the good and eschew the evil. It will be to no purpose to seek to curb them with laws which they fear not to break, and therefore the sword must be the law to reform this people, for without cutting the evil out by a strong hand there will be no hope for their corrupt manners, which must be reformed by the severity of the prince's authority.

The remainder of this dissertation on Ireland is confined to the number of soldiers necessary for subduing the country to order, and the most favourable garrison towns. If Mr. Haynes lived now in our sister isle, it would be interesting to see what advice he would send Queen Victoria, for she is almost as hard pressed for means to govern Ireland as was ever Queen Bess.



Carton's "Game of Chess."

IF any doubt as to the desirability of another reprint of Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse** should arise in the censorious mind, it will be set at rest by the excellent introduction which Mr. Axon has prefixed to this edition. It is this which gives value to the book, for a mere reprint of the work

* Caxton's *Game and Playe of Chesse*, 1474, with an Introduction by William E. A. Axon. London: Elliot Stock. 1883.

might have been regarded as superfluous, seeing that the beautiful facsimile of the second impression, edited by Vincent Figgins, can still be obtained by the alert bookhunter, and that those peculiar people the phonotype fanciers have an edition printed by Mr. Pitman for their special benefit. Mr. Axon has followed the text of the first edition, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum; but the variations and additions made in the second issue are recorded in footnotes. Reduced facsimiles of the woodcuts of the second issue have also been added, so that the reader has before him the whole of the work as left us by Caxton. The point which for a long time has made the "Game" interesting to biblio-

graphers is the dispute as to whether it can claim to be the first book printed in England by the father of English typography. This point was definitely settled by Mr. Blades in his exhaustive *Life of Caxton*, where he has brought conclusive proof to show that the book came from the press of Colard Mansion, of Bruges. The second issue is undoubtedly the

work of Caxton, though by no means an early one, Blades dating it as late as 1481. But if it has to give place in this respect to other books, it will always possess an interest for the lover of quaint literature. The way in which the old moralist has adapted the movements and combinations of a favourite amusement to "point a moral" is more than respectably clever, and many curious bits of worldly wisdom or startling deductions from innocent-looking premises will be found by those who diligently seek. In the thirteenth century moralities of all kinds were "in the air," and the tales popular

amongst the lower orders were seized upon and turned to account by the purveyors of religion. Hence that curious collection of stories the *Gesta Romanorum*. As men's every-day lives and duties were so utilised by the priest to enforce his precepts, it was hardly possible that their amusements should escape. Nor did they, for Jacques de Cessoles found texts for sundry sermons on the game of chess, which at that time formed a favourite diversion alike of clergy and laity. These sermons were afterwards written down and attained universal popularity. How that Cessoles was greatly indebted for his materials to Guido Colonna, how that the book held its own in the esteem of the public throughout the

middle ages, how it came to be translated into English and printed by Caxton, how it went through endless editions in many languages, is all most fully related by Mr. Axon in his introduction. That a work which contains so much that is alien to the best interests of any community should have been so unquestioningly accepted would be not a little sur-

prising were the history of the middle ages less well known. In it the demarcations between class and class are sharply and crudely stated, and the "divine right" of kings is taken as a matter of course. There is no doubt in the author's mind as to the rightful position of king and baron, bishop and merchant. He has four references to Plato, but whether they are from the *Republic* or not we cannot ascertain from Mr. Axon's text. If they are, the old moralist, who quotes Cicero as well, must have felt pretty sure that few of his hearers would be likely to read the rest of the work. We think

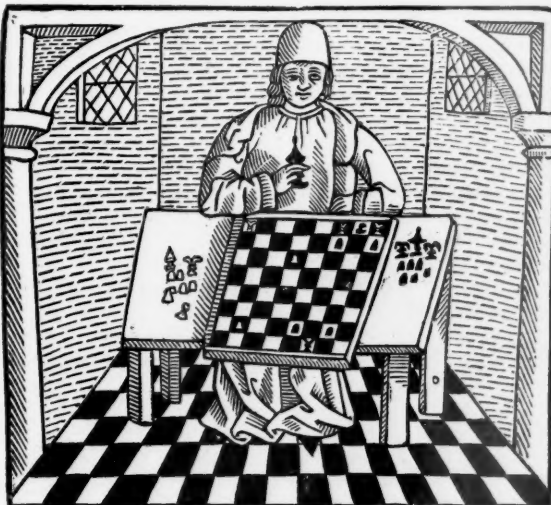


FIG. 1.—THE CHESS BOARD.

Mr. Axon has made a mistake in not giving exact references to Cessoles' numerous quotations. He considers that the verification of them would not repay the labour it would involve; but he has evidently been at great pains to ascertain the names of authors where any doubt as to their identity existed, and has succeeded in clearing up some obscure allusions, such as that to Helmond. Why could he not have given us the result of his labours by adding the exact reference when found? and as this is a verbatim (not a facsimile) reprint, there could have been no objection to such references appearing as footnotes.

The chess-player pure and simple will find little of interest in the *Game and Playe*. The dogmatic assertions as to its origin will amuse him, and to endeavour to ascertain how it came to be attributed to the reign of the obscure Evilmerodach may perhaps form an interesting question. Should he care to inquire into the point, Van der Lindes' *Geschichte des Scheschspills* will give him a mass of information about the game. Beyond this there is nothing whatever to interest him except the few directions for playing on p. 159 *et seq.*, which show that the game was much more restricted and unscientific than is our modern development of it. A useful feature of the introduction is the giving of variants of some of the stories and the pointing out where several others may be found. Amongst them is the story of St. Bernard playing at dice for a soul. It is not a little curious that there is no trace in the *Game* of the legends about the devil playing chess with a man for his soul. A

good tale turning on this point is Walker's *Vincenzio the Venetian* (*Chess and Chess-players*, p. 291).



Public Rights in the Thames.

BY HUBERT HALL.

PART II.

IN order to show that the views expressed with regard to the origin of the king's control over the greater rivers—that is to say, the defence by which the latter were converted first into

royal fisheries, and afterwards preserved only for the benefit of the community—are not wholly imaginary, I will proceed to offer in support of them the following remarkable passages from the *Confirmation of the Laws of Edward the Confessor*, under the heading "De Pace Regis":—

Pax Regis multiplex est . . . alia per breve suum data, alia quam habent quatuor

chimini . . . alia quam habent aque nominatorum et fluviorum quorum navigio de diversis locis victualia deferuntur civitatibus vel Burgis. . . .

Similiter quatuor chiminorum et majorum aquarum, de assitu et de opere, vero si fiat opus, destruat et medietas emendacionis dabitur. . . .

Pax autem quatuor chiminorum est predictarum aquarum sub majore judicio continetur. . . . Si vero molendina, piscaria vel alia quelibet opera ejus impedimentum faciencia preparantur, opera ipsa protinus destruantur et chimini et aque ut fuerunt penitus reparentur et forisfactura Regis non obliviscatur. . . .

Chimini vero minores de Civitate ad Civitates quousque ducentes, de Burgis ad Burgos per quos

* Leges regis Edwardi &c., Cott. MSS. Claud. D. II. (c. 16).



FIG. 2.—THE LABOURER.

mercata vehuntur etc*. negocia fuerint sub lege comitatus sunt si quisquam operis ad eorum perturbationem erigitur solitenu deponetur . . . et secundum legem comitatus ejusdem . . . emendetur. . .

Similiter de aquis fiat minoribus . . . cum lege minorum chiminorum sunt.

It is interesting to compare with the above excerpts the dictum of Britton on this point.

Et si ad une autre manere de disseisine, sicum de pescherie. Car nul ne pora aver garenne en autri demeynes si noun par especiauté de fet; einz est la pescherie a li qui terre se joynt a la rivere de une part et del autre; et si for qe de une part, adounc est la pescherie sue jekes au fil del mi leu del ewe, si la pescherie ne soit commune. Et dounc si acun estraunge vodera destourber kiel a peschier en droit de soen soil en clamaunt fraunc tenement en la pescherie, il fet aperte disseisine au seigneur del soil sil est esté seisi de la pescherie.

Car sicum la rivere est a cely au meyns jekes al fil del mi leu del ewe, qui soil se joynt al ewe, hors pris commune rivere, que devise countez ou hundredz aussi est de devises de terre, hors pris commun chemin qe nul ne porra trestourner ne estrester, et autres devises semblables.*

It will be seen that the above-cited authorities not only confirm the previous argument, but even go beyond it in their emphatic assertion of popular rights depending on the prerogative of the Crown. We will now, therefore, proceed to examine the status of the city itself (on behalf of the community), as a grantee of the Crown in several ages.

The Conqueror's confirmatory charter to the citizens of London, assuring them of all their ancient customs, may be taken, in connection with certain passages in the coronation and civic charters of his son Henry, as showing a willingness on the part of the Crown to recognize the pre-existing claims of the city to special graces and immunities. These at first were only general, yet that room was left for the insertion of fresh privileges when the need for them should arise can scarcely admit of doubt.

The connection between the documents just mentioned and those of a later date and more specific character would almost alone prove this.

The ancient customs of the city confirmed in William I.'s charter are mentioned as being the laws of Edward the Confessor. The coronation charter of Henry I. restores to all his subjects those very laws. The privilege mentioned in the charter of the same king to

the citizens of London as having been "better and more fully" enjoyed by their ancestors, evidently relates to the same period,—this privilege being, it is worthy of note, the right of free course* in the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Wilts. Then, when we remember that it was this coronation charter of Henry I. that was taken by the barons of John as the model of their articles for redress of the grievances of the Church, the vassals, and the cities; and that the laws of Edward were for long regarded merely as the synonym for good government generally, it will be seen how close is the understood relation between the earlier franchise and the later, and how vain it is to seek to set a period to rights which have antiquity even as much as justice on their side!

But even had it been otherwise, the remaining and visible grants of later sovereigns would be sufficient to lay the whole question at rest.

The citizens had at least profited by the indefinite privileges confirmed to them by the Conqueror and his son. In the reign of Stephen, when they had most to suffer and most to fear, they had become, "as it were, nobles, by reason of the greatness of their city,"†—and took their old part in deciding between two contending claimants to the Crown. Under Henry II. no ground, at least, was lost, though but little progress can be reported. It is in the reign of John that we take up the link dropped in that of his grandfather. That the citizens had suffered deeply from such encroachments and interferences upon their river as have been sketched above is made very certain by the manner in which these grievances are alluded to.

In the "Articles of the Barons" the state of affairs is very clearly revealed, no less than three clauses being devoted to their redress. All weirs are evermore to be removed from out of Thames and Medway, and throughout the rest of England; the evil customs touching the rivers are to be amended by local juries; and the rivers which have been put "in defence" by John are to be made free.‡

* "Fugationes suas ad fugandum," corresponding to the "volare" of falconry, and sometimes comprised with it under the title "ripare."—Falconer's *Accounts*, E. Q. R., H. 3 and E. 1.

† *Hist. Nov.*, iii., 45.

‡ *Artic. Baron.*, 23, 39, 47.

* Britton, Liv. II., ch. xi., c. 15 and 22.

These three points, with another, reappear in Magna Charta in almost the same phrases, the words "and of their keepers" being added to the clause dealing with the evil customs of the rivers, by way of significant comment.* The further point is contained in the thirteenth clause, which gives to the city of London "all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water." The city had now thrown in its lot with the reforming party, the price of its adhesion being the confirmation of those liberties which it could no longer brook should be tampered with by the caprice of the Crown. It had at length, perhaps, been forced into that position of communal independence—at times turbulence—which it assumed and abandoned earlier than the French capital; and we must, on the whole, allow the shrewd saying of Fitz-Osbert, that "whatever goes and comes, may the Londoners never have another king than the Mayor of London."

Nor is Magna Charta the first place where such wrongs are implied and redress granted. The city of London received a confirmation of its *communio* from Richard I., and this king had "granted and steadfastly commanded that all weirs be amoved wherever they shall be found within the Thames."† The same privileges which were solemnly ratified by Magna Charta had been already granted by letters patent early in the reign of John.

By one of these, in the first year of the reign, all former rights of the Londoners were confirmed to them "within the city and without, by land or water."‡ This confirmation was made in consideration of a yearly sum of £300—say £5,000 of our money. Another charter in the same year is still more explicit. The Crown,

for the common weal of our City of London and of all our realm, have granted and steadfastly commanded that all weirs which are within Thames or Medway be amoved, wheresoever they shall be within the Thames and Medway; and that no weirs from henceforth be put anywhere in the Thames or Medway. For it is sufficiently given us to understand (by Hubert of Canterbury and others), that very great detriment and discommodity hath grown to our said City of London, and also to our realm, by reason of these weirs.§

Could language be plainer than this? Yet as though to make his promise even more binding, the king disclaims any official connection with the evil practices complained of by renouncing the fees of the keeper of the Tower received from this source, and by imposing a fine of £10—say £160 of our money—for each future conviction. Another charter at the close of the same reign completes and confirms the jurisdiction of the city, it being even thought necessary to specially exempt the privileges of the king's chamberlainship from its operation.* All these preceding liberties and customs were frequently confirmed during succeeding reigns, often with significant details or comments, as where Henry III. confirms the free customs and liberties in force under Henry I., "whereas they had the same better and more fully;"† or where Edward III. concedes to the citizens the punishment "to us belonging" for erecting weirs.‡

There can be little doubt as to the extent or meaning of the privileges thus yielded to the city, so that the question only arises as to their subsequent validity, or, what is still more important, their expediency. But, though this latter count is here taken into consideration, we should not ignore the fact that proof of the bare legal status would amply suffice for the modern requirements of the case, since the production of a musty record will at any time justify the encroachments of a private landowner—at least in the eyes of his brother magistrates—against the clearest show of public convenience!

It is true that the highly favourable opinion of the rights of the citizens of London adopted in the great Charter of John was not fully maintained in subsequent reigns. Several important sentences and one whole clause were omitted in the confirmation by his son, and were never regained. Yet without these, abundant evidence remains of the nature of these grants in the charter as it was more than thirty times confirmed within the century, and as it stands at present in our Statute Book.§ What the intention of the Crown was with regard to this portion of it, is

* M. C., 33, 47, 48.

† Second Charter of Richard I. to City of London.

‡ Second Charter of John.

§ Third Charter.

* Charter 4.

† Hen. III., Charter 3.

‡ 1 Ed. III.

§ 9 Hen. III.

proved by the issue, four days later, of the writ of inquiry into the evil customs of the rivers promised therein, and by the fact that even in the subsequent period of reaction only rivers which had been placed "in defence" previous to the reign of Richard I. were in future included in the action of such writs, and of these we know that the Thames was certainly not one.*

Other charters, in still later times, solemnly annul all abrogations of previous liberties made under weak or despotic sovereigns. In this way Henry VI., for instance, had made a sweeping revocation of all grants of special liberties from the beginning of the reign, to help towards paying off a debt equivalent to about three and a half millions.

It was not until much later that the evil was unconsciously wrought the effects of which are now for the first time being felt. Through the very amplitude of the grants made by the Tudor and Stuart kings for the benefit of the commerce of the city, the earlier question of riparian encroachments, which had once been paramount, was lost sight of. The truth of this remark cannot be better proved than by referring to the nature of the claims raised by the triumphant riparian owner of to-day,—claims which in one or two respects fairly baffle his undaunted opponents. He ignores the earlier position, that in which not only was the "defence" of the river removed for the public good, but the separate enjoyment of riparian proprietors forbidden under the heaviest penalties. But unfortunately this constitutional position was lost sight of in the more important interests which supervened, and the riparian has profited accordingly. In his view of the question, the Thames is only a navigable river for the benefit of shipping. Moreover, it is only a navigable river so far as the tide flows or reflows; but, above all, it is only a common river up to the "City stone" of Staines.

Now, in reality, it matters not in the eyes of the law, as interpreted by the constitution, what may be the circumstances which tend to limit the enjoyment of a river once declared to be *publici juris*.

It may be bounded throughout its course

* Issued 19th June. The writ was known as "De defensione riparie." See 9 Hen. III. c. 16.

by the land of private owners. The tide may flow or reflow partially or not at all. It is not even a logical sequence that it shall be navigable. Upon such a river and throughout its whole extent the public only has unlimited enjoyment, and any encroachment upon or permanent interference with such constitutes a purpresture—as it was once generally called—punishable at law, and prosecuted "for the dignity of the Crown," except in such unfortunate cases as the cognizance thereof is entrusted to municipal bodies or their delegates.*

But, apart from this, the public has "yet another hold" on its persecutors. The venerable privileges confirmed by the Plantagenet kings were never really lost, though they dropped out of sight in the presence of more important competitors.

Take, for instance, a charter of James I. Herein we find recited the fact, which none dispute, that the king's beloved mayor, corporation, and citizens of London have, or ought to have, exercised the office of conservators of Thames from time immemorial; all of which jurisdiction is to be exercised from the bridge of Staines, eastward, to "Yen-land."† Then follows a confirmation of all the old customs and liberties ever granted by former kings, "as they, or any of their predecessors, in any time of our progenitors, used or enjoyed, or ought to use or enjoy, the same." But why the bridge of Staines? Probably because this was the highest point up to which the strings of barges and lighters would care to ascend (which was the reason of the mention of this spot as the limit to the lucrative conservancy of the city).‡ Because beyond it lay the sacred precincts of Windsor; and because this same place had, ages ago, been a rallying-point for the royal prerogative, and the private encroachments that depended on it, by virtue of a tract of royal forest and warren which had been solemnly disforested for the benefit of the city as far back as the reign of Henry III. §

Now what is to be thought of the candour or of the learning of those who have sought thus to steal a march upon a public very ignorant of

* *Mirror*; Hale-Britton, ii., 11.

† 6 Jac. I.

‡ 12 Jac. I.

§ 2 Hen. III.

its own laws, and still more of its constitution, and of this public, upon the poorest and most retiring portion?

Such a quibble is rather worthy of the Stuart king, who, as Duke of Cornwall, leased to one subject the fishery which another held as a grant from the Crown; and then, later on, when the rivals had ruined one another, proceeded against the pair—the one for breaking the king's peace, the other for being in arrears with the duke's rent!*

The interest of the public in the Thames is not yet wholly dependent on the commercial advantages which it affords, though, if private rights are countenanced in one portion of the river, even these may be menaced, for the example of interested "right" is very contagious—especially when supported by such proof as that adduced by Fielding's clerical Jacobite. The real question, then, to be asked is—Whether the public shall be deprived of the natural enjoyments that were yielded to them by common consent, and confirmed and assured to them in the most sacred manner by the Crown? Or, rather, whether for purposes of health-giving recreation, as well as of money-making conservancy, or for each, or for both, the river Thames is not "necessary, commodious, and profitable to the said city of London; and without the said river, the said city would not long subsist, flourish, and continue"?

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have been fortunate in making a discovery of more immediate interest. In all the works which serve as authorities on the law of fishery, it is distinctly laid down that the doubtful position of the Thames as a public river is mainly owing to the fact that no case affecting the respective rights of riparians and the public has ever come on for trial. I am now, however, able, from personal knowledge, to give a positive contradiction to this statement. A case of this nature, in which the most important issues were raised, was actually heard and tried, both in chancery and before a jury. It would be premature to pursue the subject further; but, at least, those who have hitherto relied upon the absence of such a precedent should cease to congratulate themselves upon that circumstance in the future.

* E. K. R., Decree Book, 22 Jac. I.—Car. i., 6, fo. 128.

The Book of Howth.

By J. H. ROUND.

PART III.



NOW come to that portion of the narrative which, though conspicuously absent from the *Expugnatio*, and from Bray's English version, is interpolated in *The Book of Howth*, and also, it would seem, in the Trinity College MS. F. 4.4. The writer of the latter implies (p. 117) that the things which Giraldus had omitted "for displeasure" he has supplied from O'Neil's book; and as he tells us elsewhere (p. 91) that the things omitted for displeasure were the great deeds of John de Courcy, it was of these that O'Neil's book must have treated.*

We are told in Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, on the information of Mr. W. M. Hennessy, that, in F. 4.4, "some supplementary matter is added, at the end of which (p. 100) a memorandum" is inserted. I here append this memorandum by the side of that in *The Book of Howth*.

BOOK OF HOWTH.

This much Cameransse left out in his book aforesaid with other things, more for displeasure than any truth to tell, the cause afore doth testifie. God forgive them all. This much that in this book more than Camerans did write of was translated by the Primate Dowdall in the year of our Lord 1551 out of a Latin book into English, which was found with O'Neil in Armaghe.

TRINITY COLLEGE MS. F. 4.4.

This much Camerans left out of his book . . . with other things more for displeasure than any truth to tell, the cause before do testifie, God forgive them all. This much that is in this book more than Camerans did writ of was translated by the Primate Dowdall in the yere of o' Lord God 1551 out of a Latin book into English, which was found with O'Neil in Armaghe.

This interpolated portion is quite distinct, though sandwiched, as it were, between slices of Giraldus.† It begins on p. 81 with "the order of Sir John's battle," and its sections

* It would seem that this Trinity College MS. should be carefully collated with *The Book of Howth*, that it may be ascertained whether one of them is copied from the other, or whether they have a common original in some other MS.

† I may at this point observe that we need not attach much weight to the changes of handwriting in the book. The hands are admittedly of the same date, and were presumably employed by the Lord of Howth.

will be found on pp. 81-89, 91-94, 105-108, 111-115, 116-117. These portions are clearly assigned by the writer not to any "chronicle of the gestes of John de Courcy," but to the Latin chronicle translated by Dowdall. They are devoted to the legendary deeds of De Courcy and his "brother-in-law Sir Amore Tristram," and contain a great deal of atrocious nonsense, which still figures in the "Peerages" as sober history. That legends of De Courcy should have lingered in Tyr-owen is but what we might expect; for in his last struggle for the retention of Ulster—a struggle slurred over by the historians of Ireland—he appears to have allied himself with the then O'Neil, and to have been eventually "driven into Tyrone to seek the protection of the Kinel-Owen."* But our suspicions are aroused when we find, on inspection, that the exploits of De Courcy serve as a peg on which to hang the glories of "Sir Amore Tristram," the legendary patriarch of the house of Howth. The total omission of this warrior's name from the pages of the *Expugnatio* would amply account for the writer's ire against the unfortunate Giraldus. O'Donovan, who had made a special study of this period, dismissed the whole narrative as

A mere story, invented in the fifteenth or sixteenth century to flatter the vanity of the Howth family, whose ancestor Sir Armorie Tristram or St. Lawrence married De Courcy's sister, and followed his fortunes into Ireland (*Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 180).

But though in most cases an excellent authority, he is here mistaken both in assuming that their ancestor ever did so,† and in making this all a late invention. The Courcy legend itself can be traced much earlier, and was, I believe, of old monastic origin. Such legends were often appended to religious benefactors, and not in every case to flatter family pride. This panegyrist, for instance, makes no allusion to the Courcies of Kingsale, whose fictitious descent from the conqueror of Ulster had not yet entered into the mind of man. Such a passage as that on p. 112,—

Sir John, being in the Tower, cried often to God why He suffered him to be thus miserably used, that

* *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1204 (Ed. O'Donovan).

† There are three records in which the name of this Amaury is brought in contact with that of John. Of this, the meagre and only proof of their connection, I hope to treat elsewhere.

so many good abbeyes did build and good deeds did o God,*

betrays the author's hand, while the inevitable vision (p. 115) is unmistakably original.

"How so?" said Sir John. "I shall tell thee," said the vision. "The Trinity Blessed in Doune before thy coming into Ireland, and thou hast dedicated that church now to St. Patrick; therefore God is offended with thee, and His pleasure is that thou shalt never into that country that thou hast so much pleasure in, that hath pulled down the master and put up the servant."†

But though the writer has here a slight grievance against the conqueror of Ulster, he reserves his denunciations for his triumphant persecutors, the chiefs of the house of Lacy.

So far the legend was of respectable antiquity, though perhaps hardly traceable to the monk Jocelin.‡ But on to it was grafted, how or when I do not profess to tell, the Howth family legend. On a traditional connection between John and Amaury this wild connection was built up by some ingenious romancer who possessed local knowledge and some acquaintance with Giraldus. Among De Courcy's battles enumerated in the *Expugnatio* is one (the fifth) "apud pontem luori in reditu ab Angliâ." This admittedly refers to Newry Bridge, and is identified by O'Donovan with the fight of Glen Righe in the *Annals* (1178), the Righe being the same as the Newry. But on the north side of the hill of Howth, and opposite St. Nessan's Isle, is the mouth of a stream known as the Evora. By a bold flight of fancy, our romancer made John land first at Howth (he is known to have landed at Wexford), accom-

* Compare this with the description in the *Annals of the Four Masters*—"John de Courcy the plunderer of churches." But then this was the opinion of the evicted Irish, while the English monks who replaced them could only admire his beneficence.

† This alludes to John having changed the invocation of Down (now Downpatrick) Abbey, in 1183, from the Holy Trinity to St. Patrick (of whom he was a great admirer). But of course his real offence lay in turning out the canons regular and replacing them by Benedictine monks from St. Werburgh, Chester. We may safely assume that the writer was at any rate not a Benedictine.

‡ Hanmer (though probably on no independent authority) states that "the certainty of his exploits hath been preserved, and in Latine committed to paper by a Fryer in the North, the which book O'Neil brought to Armagh, and was translated into English by Dowdall, Primate there, 1551."

panied by his supposed "brother-in-law," who (John being apparently detained on board by the effects of *mal-de-mer*) fought "a cruel battle beside a bridge as they landed" (even if he had landed there, there would have been no one to fight, that district having been subdued years before), and received as his reward the hill of Howth. All this has been duly handed down through Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, D'Alton's *History of the County of Dublin* (1838), etc., and is annually reproduced under "Howth" in the pages of Sir Bernard Burke.* Sir "Amore" is recorded to have lost on this occasion "seven sons, uncles, and nephews,"—which reminds one, by the way, of a later hero of romance, with his "sisters, and his cousins, and his aunts."† And, wondrous to relate, there is "ocular proof" for this mythical encounter. D'Alton, in his *History*, records the discovery, some fifty years ago, of "striking reminiscences of that day's fight," in the form of armour and human bones, and adds that "the sword with which Sir Amore fought is still triumphantly exhibited among the relics at the castle of his descendants"!‡

It should be added that, to support the story of this fight, it was necessary to "doctor" the translation of Giraldus, that its evidence might corroborate the story. So the words "Quintum apud pontem Iuori," which in Bray's version are faithfully rendered "The 5th fight at Yuors bryge," became, in *The Book of Howth*, "The fyrst at the bridge of Howth." The editors have changed "fyrst" into "fifth," evidently supposing it to be a mere slip, but "Howth" they have passed unnoticed.

* It is strange that no one has ever detected the ingenious substitution of "Evora" for "Iuori," and the building of this legend thereon.

† Sir Amore also anticipated the modern Anthopagi, for when dangerously wounded, shortly afterwards, "he plucked some honey-suckles and wild roses to refresh and support him under his loss of blood."—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*.

‡ *History of the County of Dublin* (1838), p. 132. Murray's *Handbook to Ireland* refers to this same "two-handed sword" as having been used by "Sir Armoricus" (who is said to have first landed in 1177) at the battle of Clontarf (in 1014)! Between D'Alton and Murray one is reminded of the exhibition of "the sword with which Balaam slew the ass," its *cicerone*, when reminded that Balaam had merely wished for a sword, retorting, "This, then, is the sword that Balaam wished for."

I cannot, as I have said, explain how or when this family legend became grafted on to the story of De Courcy. That it was of later origin is probable not only from negative evidence, but also from its being suggested by a passage in Giraldus, and from a compiler personally acquainted with Howth. I cannot but think it possible that it was concocted in that abbey where the warrior and the statesman to whom we owe this "Book" was himself at length laid to his rest.

That the romance was certainly not of his own invention is clear from internal evidence. It speaks in the language of the Trouveurs, and has at times a ring as of Chaucer. "Assuredly," it exclaims of one fight, "there was not Tristeram, Launsselot, nor Ectore that could do more." And this brings me to my last point, namely, whether "Sir Amore Tristram," the (Peerage) patriarch of the house of Howth, ever existed. Research reveals "Amauricus de Houethe" and "Amauricus de Sancto Laurentio," but of "Amore Tristram" there is no trace. *The Book of Howth* speaks of him in one place as "Sir Amore Tristerame, now called Saint Larans" (p. 91). Later writers, improving upon this, have assigned the change of name to a victory won by him on St. Laurence's day (!), but when or where is not clear.* There can of course be no doubt that the name is a local one, derived from St. Laurens, in the Caux, near Yvetot. The name of Tristram I believe to have been given by the romancer in order to impart a flavour of mediæval chivalry.† The Tristram of romance had slain the Irish champion.

E chacat ma nef en Irlant
Al pais me estoit arriver
Ke je deveie plus douter
Kar je avei occis le Morholt.

And Sir Amaury, by being made his namesake, might have the reflected glory of his

* Lodge (*Peerage of Ireland*) assigns it to the battle of Clontarf (fought 1014, i.e., 160 years before his time!). D'Alton identifies it with the above (fictitious) fight at the bridge of Howth, and adds that a feast was "held on the hill, until very recently, on St. Laurence's day, to commemorate this victory"!

† The story of "Sir Tristram" attained its great popularity in the thirteenth century, after being incorporated, like that of Lancelot, with the Arthurian romance.

exploits.* Lodge, indeed, does not hesitate to assert that

Sir Tristram was one of the knights of King Arthur's round table, and predecessor to Sir Amorey Tristram, who came into Ireland in the reign of Henry II.

And I am confirmed in this opinion by the traditional importance attached to this warrior's sword. For the mystical *cusis Tristrami* was famous in mediæval story. We read in *De la Flamma how*, in 1339, on opening the sepulchre of a king of the Lombards, a sword was found by his side; and on its deeply-gashed blade were inscribed the words, "Cel est l'espee de meser Tristant dunt il ocist l'Amoroyt de Irlant."

The ancient and historic house of Howth needs not the glamour of these foolish phantasies. They do but obscure the true evidences which prove that of all the conquering race none can claim a more unbroken descent from the days of that very conquest than the lords of that ancient and strange domain, Ben-na-dair or the hill of Howth.



Reviews.

Professor S. Bugge's Studies on Northern Mythology shortly examined. By Professor Dr. George Stephens (London: Williams & Norgate, 1883.) 8vo.



WE are not quite sure that Professor Stephens need have turned from his old-lore studies to have confuted Professor Bugge, but we welcome this, as we should do all other contributions from the study of this original thinker and writer. Professor Bugge has tried to prove that all the saga writings of Scandinavia are late variants of Christian doctrines grafted on to pagan scraps of legend. Professor Stephens has proved him wrong in ever so many ways, and with a graphic power and humour which we can recommend to our readers as well worthy of their attention. But beyond mere feats of criticism, we get some very valuable notes of fresh contributions to mythological lore from Professor Stephens's ever-rich storehouse, and for these we cannot but be too thankful; they are nuggets coming from a mine that is not frequently enough tapped, though, when we consider the Professor's great labours on old Northern Runic lore, we know that there is not much time and strength left for other subjects. The book contains some very quaint and

valuable illustrations from monumental remains in Denmark and England, as well as an exhaustive examination of the Gosforth cross in Cumberland. The illustrations include the inscribed part of a Runic cross at Brough in Westmoreland, cross fragment at Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland, five illustrations of the Cædmonic devil, from a tenth century codex, the socket of a cross at Brigham, fragment of a cross over Brigham Vicarage, squared stone inscribed with reclining figure found in Jutland, five drawings of Gosforth Cross, Cumberland, seventh or eighth century stone cross at Dearham churchyard, Cumberland, St. Pierre tombstone, Monmouthshire, carving of a capital at Bocheville, Normandy, figure-block of granite in Leinë church in Jutland. It will be seen that here, as in all his works, Professor Stephens has spared no pains or labour, but some of us will tarn willingly enough to that instalment of old tales collected in the index to his edition of *Old Swedish Legendarium*, and of which he gives us a useful note.

Bramshill: its History and Architecture. By Sir William H. Cope, Bart. (London: H. J. Infield.) 4to, pp. viii., 132.

The stately houses of England are of interest on account of their own beauty, and also for the personal associations which cluster around them. Bramshill, in the parish of Eversley, in the extreme north of Hampshire, is one of the most interesting of these grand old houses. John Thorpe is reputed to have been the architect of the mansion, and there seems to be every reason to believe that the supposition is correct. At least, if Thorpe did not build it, there must have been another artist during the Jacobean period who was able to put into his work the same sentiment which pervades all the designs of the great architect. The general effect of the building is not unlike that of Hatfield, and there is the same breadth of treatment which is so distinguishing a feature of the more famous mansion. The different fronts are well shown in the photographs which illustrate this book. One of the terraces goes by the name of the *Troco* Terrace, which takes its designation from the game of *Troco*, which was formerly played upon it. This was not materially different from "Lawn Billiards," and the iron ring through which the balls were driven still remains. A few of the cues and balls with which it was played are still in existence. The park is equally charming as the house, and specially famed for its trees. Charles Kingsley wrote of "James I.'s gnarled oaks up in Bramshill Park, the only place in England where a painter can see what Scotch firs are." Many of these firs are round-headed as oaks or beeches, and at a distance present the same outline. Sir John Cope has given full particulars of the size of these trees. One of the curiosities of Bramshill is the chest to which the story of the *Mistletoe Bough* has been attributed, but without any foundation whatsoever, and another chest has now taken the place of the original one. Sir John Cope has added to his valuable account of the house an interesting Catalogue of the pictures, with anecdotes of his ancestors.

* *Peerage of Ireland*, "Howth."

Annals of Chepstow Castle, or Six Centuries of the Lords of Strigul from the Conquest to the Revolution. By JOHN FITCHETT MARSH, deceased. Edited by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A. (Privately printed by William Pollard, Exeter, 1883.) 4to, pp. xxxi., 287.

This is a thorough book on a very important subject. The late Mr. Marsh was a ripe scholar who contemplated the compilation of a history of the Castles of Monmouthshire, but he had scarcely completed the first, the *Annals of Chepstow Castle*, when he died in the summer of 1880. The work which he left has been well edited by Sir John Maclean, and the result is a handsome volume, which is a real accession to our historical library. Chepstow Castle is mentioned in Domesday as Estrighoiel, and in later documents as Strigul, but besides these two forms the varieties of spelling are almost endless; seventy-one forms are quoted in the introduction to this book. The Lords of the Castle, during the centuries of its existence, have been among the foremost men of their times, and the record of their deeds forms a brilliant chapter in the history of this country. William Fitzosbern, who was doubly related to the Conqueror in the degree of second cousin, one remove, and led the van at the battle of Hastings, built the Castle, but after various vicissitudes of the Fitzosbern family, it came into the possession of the Clare family. This again had to give way to the family of Marshal, who were succeeded by the famous Bigods. By a questionable transaction which we cannot further describe here, Edward I. acquired the inheritance of the Bigods, which he gave to his younger son Thomas Plantagenet, called from the place of his birth Thomas de Brotherton. We must pass the families of Manny, Hastings, Mowbray, Herbert, and Tudor, and pass on to the Somerset family, to which Chepstow Castle came through the marriage of the heiress of the Herberts with Charles Somerset, illegitimate but acknowledged son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded by the victorious Yorkists after the battle of Hexham in 1463, and in the possession of the Duke of Beaufort it still remains, the Commonwealth period forming the one gap in the continuity of the Somerset family as Lords of Chepstow. The grand old castle was used in the last century as a glass manufactory, but now it is an honoured ruin, and the ivy covers the remains of that which tells of the ignoble use it was once put to. Pedigrees of the various families are appended to this interesting history of a grand building. The form in which the book is issued is worthy of the importance of the subject.

The York Buildings Company: A Chapter in Scotch History read before the Institutes of Bankers and Chartered Accountants, Glasgow, 19th February, 1883. By DAVID MURRAY, M.A., F.S.A. Scot. (Glasgow: James Madehose & Sons, 1883.) 8vo., pp. 131.

In old pictures and engravings of the Thames near Charing Cross a curious wooden tower usually forms an important object in the view. This belonged to the York Buildings Water Company, and it stood on the site of Old York House, the palace for a time of

the Archbishops of York, the residence of lord chancellors, and of the profligate Duke of Buckingham. A portion of London was for many years supplied with water by means of this company, and it therefore occupies a place in the history of London, but it will be news to most of our readers that the doings of this trading company exercised an important influence upon Scottish history. Mr. Murray is the first to bring this out distinctly, and his little work is of great value accordingly.

The Company obtained a grant, in 1675, empowering them to erect a waterwork and water-house near the river of Thames upon part of the grounds of York House or York House garden, and to dig and lay ponds, pipes, and cisterns for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants of St. James's Fields and Piccadilly with water at reasonable rents. In 1690 the works were burnt down and re-erected, and in 1691 an Act was obtained by which the proprietors of the Waterworks were incorporated under the name of "The Governor and Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames water in York Buildings," with power to purchase and alien lands and hereditaments, and to use a Common Seal. All went pretty smoothly till 1719, when the Waterworks were advertised for sale. Between these two dates the first Jacobite rising had taken place, and there were forfeited estates to be purchased. Mr. Case Billingsley saw his opportunity and the value of the York Buildings Company's charter with power to purchase land, and, joining with some partners, he bought the whole property for £7,000, or a little over four years' purchase of the annual profits. The Duke of Chandos was chosen Governor of the new Company, and arrangements were at once made to open a subscription at Mercers' Hall for raising a joint stock and fund of £1,200,000 for purchasing forfeited and other estates in Great Britain, by a fund for granting annuities and for assuring lives. In the course of a few months the £10 shares were at £305! Purchases were made largely. We cannot follow in detail the ins and outs of these, but we recommend our readers to look for them in Mr. Murray's pages. After an existence of 150 years, the Company came to an end: in 1829 an Act was obtained for dissolving the Corporation, providing for the sale of its property, and the division of the proceeds among the stockholders of the Company. Mr. Murray writes:—"No name is more familiar to the Scotch lawyer than that of the York Buildings Company; and many a one, puzzled by its perpetual recurrence in the pages of text-books and reports, has asked, and often asked in vain, what this litigious company was, or what possible connection it could have with Scotland. To such a question I hope I have been in some degree able to supply an answer." We can only say that the answer is most satisfactory, and that in producing it the author has supplied a large amount of fresh and important information.

The Mythology of the Eddas: how far of True Teutonic Origin. By CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1882.) 8vo, pp. 74.

Professor Bugge has found another opponent in

Mr. Keary, but then Mr. Keary is by no means so thorough-going an opponent as Professor Stephens. He recognises Professor Bugge's position as one of the foremost Eddaic scholars of Europe, and agrees with him in certain points. The conclusion which Mr. Keary arrives at is that antique Teuton beliefs lie at the bottom of these Eddaic myths, but that the details of the stories have in many instances been taken from Christian or classical myths. In treating his subject the author of this valuable paper deals first with the Myths of Death and of the other world, and then with the Eddaic World.

The Genealogist. Edited by GEORGE W. MARSHALL, LL.D., F.S.A. July, 1883. Vol. vii., No. 47. 8vo. London.

Dr. Marshall's important publication goes on and prospers, and the table of contents of the present number proves that the standard of the articles continues as high as ever. We may particularly mention Funeral Certificates, Extracts from Parish Registers, Monumental Inscriptions, Marriage Licences, and Calendar of Lambeth Administrations. Besides these there are notes on such burning questions as the Earldom of Mar and notices of books.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Archæological Institute.—July 5.—Mr. T. H. Baylis in the chair.—Prof. B. Lewis read a paper "On the Gallo-Roman Antiquities of Reims." These are much less known than the mediæval monuments, but well deserve the attention of archæologists. The Porta Martis stands on the north side of the city, and holds the same position among the antiquities of Reims as the gates of Arroux and St. André do at Autun. It consists of three large arches separated by coupled columns, and the soffits contain elaborate designs, viz., the labours of the twelve months in the centre, Jupiter and Leda on the left, and the twins suckled by the she-wolf on the right. The last group seems to allude to the name of the city. The mosaic of the public promenades is particularly interesting, because it illustrates those passages in ancient authors which describe gladiatorial combats. It consists of thirty-five compartments, each containing a single figure. This tessellated pavement may be compared with the mosaics of Augsburg, Nennig, near Treves, and the Lateran Museum. The tomb of Jovinus, so called, is a sarcophagus deposited in the crypt at the Archevêché. The figures on the front represent, in high relief, a lion hunt. From the style of the execution one would be disposed to assign them to the age of the Antonines. The inscriptions relating to Reims present many points of contact with the history of our own country. For example, we find in them mention of Mars Camulus, who reminds us of Camulodunum, and Cantius, which looks like Cantium, Kent. One

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of the coins of Durocortorum (Reims) is remarkable because it exhibits three conjugated heads on the obverse. M. Lorient says they symbolize three provinces: Belgica, Germania Inferior, and Germania Superior; but there can be little doubt that we have here the effigies of the Roman Triumvirate—Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus.—Mr. P. Harrison adduced further evidence of the antiquity of the inscriptions found by him at Stonehenge.—Mr. W. M. F. Petrie read some notes on a collection of graffiti of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, from the Great Pyramid.—Mr. E. Wilmott exhibited a further collection of rubbings from the brasses in Cobham Church, which were commented on by Mr. Waller.—Mr. J. Nightingale exhibited a fine pre-Reformation chalice from Wylie Church, and a parcel-gilt tankard, used as a flagon, from Fugglestone Church, Wilts.—Mr. P. B. Brown sent a watch, by Daniel Quare, with a silver "cock," and other watches.

Index.—June 29.—*Annual Meeting.*—Mr. H. B. Wheatley, Director, in the chair in the unavoidable absence of the President.—The report of the Council gave an account of the system which had been followed by the Society in its operations,—indexes of single books leading up to indexes of subjects, and these forming portions of a general index of knowledge. The report was accompanied by a tabulation of the principal subjects dealt with by the Society, showing what work had been accomplished, what was being done, and for what work further assistance was required.—The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report, drew special attention to the progress that had been made in indexing the *Gentleman's Magazine*.—A resolution was carried requesting the Council to communicate with the various literary and scientific societies, with a view to establishing a uniform method of indexing.—Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P., was elected President for the ensuing year.

PROVINCIAL.

Surrey Archæological Society.—July 11th.—The places selected for the annual excursion were Tandridge, Barrow Green House, Oxted, and Godstone. The meeting was under the presidency of Mr. Granville Leveson-Gower, F.S.A.—The architectural features of Tandridge Church were explained by Mr. J. Oldred Scott, who said the earliest remains were Norman work of the north wall, a portion of the east wall, and the lower part of the west wall, which bore the date 1616. Several additions had been made, the effect of which had been to sweep away all the old features of the church. From the inventory made in the third year of Edward VI., he thought that, for a humble church, it was in a very good position.—Mr. J. Leveson-Gower, in thanking Mr. Scott, intimated that a tomb-stone to Lady Gilbert-Scott, in the churchyard, was worthy of inspection, as was also a large yew tree.—Major Heales read a paper "Notes on Tandridge Priory." He explained that there were only two or three of the priories in the kingdom where records of what occurred in their establishments were kept, although most of them kept a diary of great events that happened in the country. They had, therefore, to get such information as they possessed from the Bishop's registers, which

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contained a deal of information about priors themselves, rights obtained, and inquisitions held whenever any land was given to the establishments. It being found that when the monastic institutions acquired land they seldom parted with it, an Act of Parliament was passed in the fourteenth century by which no land could be obtained by the monasteries except by the King's license, which was generally granted on payment of a handsome fee, and upon a previous inquisition being held that no harm or injury would be done to the King. In 1308 the monastery suffered very great poverty, the income being scarcely sufficient to maintain the establishment, while in the sixteenth century, about 1536, it was dissolved by the King's command and the authority of Parliament, and apparently the whole building was destroyed, and no records could be found to enable them to form any idea of the nature of the structure. The author was ready to admit that amongst the monks there were black sheep, but contended that the idea of the habitual jovial, free life was utterly wrong. There were no records to support that idea; the complaints which were brought against them, according to the Bishop's book, were of a trivial nature as regards the public, and chiefly affected their revenues and position. By the kind permission of Mr. C. H. Master, Barrow Green House, a fine Elizabethan structure, was next visited, the last time the Society inspected the same being in 1865. The chief feature of interest in the interior was a very handsome specimen of carving of the time of James I., when Sir Thomas Hoskins was the owner of the place. It was an oak mantelpiece, and contained, according to Mr. Percival, the figures of Charity and Faith, but according to another authority Charity and Temperance. Above were the royal arms of James I., and below the figures of a male and female Atlas. The panelling of the whole room was also in oak. After paying a short visit to the adjoining farmhouse, the company ascended a large mound or barrow, which it was thought might have been thrown up for the burial of some of the Anglo-Saxon lords. An excavation of soil to the depth of about three yards had been made.—Mr. G. Leveson-Gower said that from the result of the experiment and the nature of the soil, they might now rest satisfied that the hill was a natural and not an artificial one. Arriving at Oxted Church, Mr. G. Leveson-Gower read a paper on the subject of the structure in which they, by the kind permission of the rector, assembled. In his opening remarks he observed that they were assembled at what some persons looked upon with great aversion, a "restored church." After describing the original appearance of the church, and the result of the prior restoration in 1838, when several commemorative windows were added, the author remarked that it was recorded that Oxted Church and chancel was burnt by a great tempest of lightning in 1719. The five bells were melted, the present bells being hung and first rang a peal on the 5th November, 1729. The fifth bell had the inscription:—

"Good folks with one accord,
We call to hear God's Word,
We honour do the King,
(And) Joy to Brides do sing;
We triumphs loudly tell,
And ring your last farewell."

The spire also perished. The Domesday Survey says of Oxted, "There is a church." No trace of Norman work was found about the present building, and so probably the Saxon church stood (it might have been of wood) until the ubiquitous Early English builder. Referring to the numerous monuments (which were mostly in the chancel, and none of which had been removed during the restoration), the author remarked that they were principally to members of the Hoskins family, or to those allied with them by marriage. On one of the flat slabs was the curious inscription to Anne, twenty-five years wife of Charles Hoskins, in the favourite alliteration of the day—

"Lett this
Pattern of Piety,
Mapp of misery,
Mirrour of Patience,
Here rest."

There was a portrait of the same lady in the dining-room at Barrow Green. The registers dated from 1606 for burials, and 1613 for baptisms. Amongst the entries were 1611, 10th April, buried "Anthony, the blackamore." The communion plate included a large silver alms dish of foreign work, decidedly non-ecclesiastical. Outside the church were two very early crosses incised on sandstone. They were found at the depth of about seven feet. In his will John Hoskins gave the direction "to be buried without pomp in the churchyard of Oxted, in a grave something deeper than ordinary; and no stone nor inscription nor ornament to be put over it." Referring to the manor of Oxted, Mr. G. Leveson-Gower said that at the time of the Domesday Survey it was in possession of Eustace Count of Boulogne, one of the followers of William the Conqueror, and who was enriched by him with large estates. There were three manors within the manor, and from the rolls the customary tenants were bound to do suit, not to marry their daughters without consent, not to sell an ox, male calf, or colt without the lord's leave; they were bound to gather the lord's apples, mow his meadows, and pay a certain rent in chickens and eggs.—A dusty curiosity in one corner of the church—a chest with thirteen chambers, all acted upon by one key—was found and inspected by a few visitors. It was spanned by iron girths and padlocked, a miniature iron till being inside, the whole being formidable enough to laugh a burglar and his tactics to scorn.—Godstone was the next alighting place, and here a company of visitors inspected the St. Mary's Almshouses, erected in 1872 by Mrs. Hunt, in memory of her daughter, the chapel particularly eliciting much admiration. A paper in the church, which is dedicated to St. Nicholas, was read by the hon. secretary, Mr. Thos. Milbourn (who acted with his usual ability as cicerone, and was well assisted by Mr. Ivatts). He described the ancient style of the church, which in 1872-73 was enlarged and restored, after plans by Sir G. Scott, and there was now very little of the old work remaining.—His remarks were supplemented by the rector, Rev. S. Hoare, who said that the only part of the church which was really original was the tower. At the north of the chancel was a memorial chapel, erected by Sir George Barclay to his wife (Barbara St. Clair), whose mortal remains were brought from Australia in 1859.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.—July 16th.—The members met for the purpose of paying a visit to that ancient residence known as "Kersal Cell," near Higher Broughton. The building, it is believed, was founded in 1153 or 1156. During the evening a paper was read by Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., on the ecclesiastical history of the Cell.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—July 25th.—Dr. Bruce in the chair.—It was reported that alterations had been made in the plans for the conversion of the old Black Gate into a museum, and that the deed between the Corporation and the Society as to the tenancy of the building was lying on the table for signature. The Society, it was further stated, could have occupation of the building by the 1st of August.—It was unanimously agreed to accept the tenders for the work and to sign the deed for the occupation of the building.—Mr. W. A. Hoyle read a short paper on an ancient canoe which was found in the Tyne after a heavy flood on the 18th of March, 1881. The canoe, which had been brought to the Castle, was now in a hard and dry condition. It was agreed to leave it in the building for inspection and for future discussion.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.—July 21st.—An excursion was made to Patrington, Easington, Kilnsea, and Spurn Point, and to Hornsea, Skipsea, and Ulrome, all in the district of Holderness. Kilnsea is a small village at the commencement of the narrow ridge of sand constituting Spurn Point. Two examples of the old Danish refuse heaps or kitchen middens were visited, the first on the coast washed by the German Ocean, the second about 200 yards up the Humber, beyond the point where the road reaches the village. The early inhabitants appear to have selected or constructed a hollow in the glacial clays, about nine or ten feet broad, perhaps 60ft. in length, and four or five feet deep in the centre, with sloping sides. In this hollow they deposited the refuse from cooking and other matters. The situation of the midden is usually indicated by a layer of oyster shells. The loamy soil above these is soft and comparatively loose, frequently a dark brownish black colour. It contains broken bones of the cow and sheep, and to a less extent of some other animals: of birds, etc., which served for food. Broken pottery of a coarse material and only partially burnt, thin Roman-like bricks and pieces of glass, and more rarely flint, bone, iron, and bronze implements, are discovered. The whole is covered by a greater or less thickness of soil.—The party then proceeded to Hornsea, a summer resort of the people of Hull. It is situated on the coast, and the country in its neighbourhood is constituted of the stiff glacial clays and gravels characteristic of the whole of Holderness from the chalk of Bridlington to the Humber. The country is slightly undulating, little rounded hills of gravel rising from an unbroken level of small valleys. The lower parts of the country were, until comparatively recent times, covered by inland lakes, connected with one another, and ramifying in every direction. An example of the old fresh-water lake still remains in Hornsea Mere, about half a mile from the shore, and from the point of view indicated it is peculiarly interesting. It is about a mile in length,

and its deeper parts are below the level of the sea.

—Having inspected the lake, the members were driven to Skipsea, where they were met by Mr. Thomas Boynton. Proceeding to the shore at Skipsea, Mr. Boynton pointed out the site of one of the ancient lakes already mentioned. It originally extended far out to sea, and was of such extent and importance that Harold, the lord of the manor, granted a tithe of the fish to Robert de Chester in 1288. At present it is reposed in the cliff section, occupying a hollow in the surrounding glacial till or clay. Its principal characteristic consists in the thick beds of peat, which occupy and fill up the hollow. Proceeding from the coast past the church—which possesses a beautiful little porch erected in the reign of Queen Anne—the earthworks of Skipsea Whitton were visited. These are very extensive and perfect, and, without doubt, afforded means of defence and protection to its inhabitants and those of the surrounding district. An interesting description of the site and its historical associations was given by the director. Mr. Boynton next conducted the members along the side of the Skipsea and Barmston Drain to Ulrome. It is at Ulrome that the pile dwelling discovered and excavated by Mr. Boynton is situated. Whilst deepening the drain three years ago, a number of bone tools and rotten timbers were discovered, which had evidently been worked and used by some former inhabitants of the country. They were, in some instances, sharpened at one end in a rough and rude manner, and appeared to have been used as piles. Mr. Boynton's curiosity was excited, and he commenced an excavation on the east bank of the drain in the first instance, and afterwards on the opposite side. A rectangular surface is now exposed about twenty yards by thirty, and the whole of this is covered by trunks of trees laid horizontally, and fastened and held in position by pointed piles driven into the ground on each side or at the ends. The general construction, as explained by Mr. Boynton, is as follows:—The structure was erected on the edge of a lake, with rising ground eastwards and westwards. The bed of the lake was composed of sandy gravel, above which about two feet of peat had been deposited. On this the builders placed their tree trunks, crossing each other horizontally, and for the most part without any definite arrangement. They were fastened in position by the pointed stakes, as already mentioned. The interstices were filled in with broken wood and twigs until a level surface was obtained. On the solid surface thus obtained there was placed an additional thickness of about eighteen inches of broken twigs and bark, and on this foundation, probably reaching a short height above the surface of the water, were erected the dwellings of the builders. Since the demolition of the buildings or dwellings there has accumulated about three feet of peat and peaty marl, and above this, forming the surface, there is more than a foot of warp and soil; so that the whole is about ten feet in depth from the surface of the ground to the bed of gravel at the base. During the excavation many interesting relics of the occupiers of the dwellings have been found, mostly consisting of stone and bone implements. Amongst the former are several rounded stones, used for pounding grain or other matters; pointed or sharpened stones pierced in the middle for the introduction of a handle, and used as

hammers. The bone implements are mostly of large size and rude form. The large leg bones of the cow, probably the humerus, broken off about eight inches from the joint, and a hole bored immediately below the joint for the insertion of a stick, formed an implement that would serve very well the purpose of a hoe for breaking up the land. The antlers of the red deer appear to have been used by these people as in other similar places, for digging purposes, and are frequently met with. Numerous nuts are found; pieces of pottery, probably of a Roman type, occur; a single bronze spear head has been found, and some examples of worked flints. Judging from the remains which have hitherto been discovered, it appears probable that the people who erected the dwellings on the borders of the lake did so for protection against the wild animals which existed in the country at that time and for long afterwards, rather than for defence against human foes. That they pursued agricultural pursuits is proved by the bone implements, which are admirably adapted for working in the light warpy soil on the higher ground bordering the lake. Mr. Boynton suggests that the lake dwellers, if alarmed, could easily retire to Skipsea Whitton, which was probably an entrenched and fortified place at the time the dwellings were erected, and that, under ordinary circumstances, the inhabitants were peaceable and industrious agriculturists.

Manchester Scientific Students.—July 28th. —The members visited Alderley Edge under the leadership of Mr. Theodore Sington. The isolated and abrupt hill forming the Edge is a great mass of the upper portion of the new red sandstone, technically known as the Keuper. Through the kindness of Mrs. Barber, they subsequently visited Kersal Cell, the ancient seat of the Byrom family. This building contains some fine and curiously-carved ancient mouldings and oak furniture, which were pointed out by Mr. Frederick Waite, who read a paper on the history of the place. The founder of Kersal Cell is believed to have been German, Earl of Chester, who died about 1153. It was connected with the Priory of Lenton, and its first occupants were monks of the Cluniac order, who were brought to England by William Earl of Warren, the son of William the Conqueror. The Cluniac branch of the Benedictines owned many of the richest abbeys in England, and all the cathedral priories with the exception of Carlisle. At the dissolution of the religious houses the lordship or cell of Kershaw passed to John Wood and Bawdewyn Willoughby, thence to the Siddalls and Cheethams, and finally to the Byroms, though not without some litigation.

Severn Valley Naturalists' Field Club.—July 23rd. —The second field meeting of this Society was held at High Ercall. The first mention of this place is in the poems of Lwarch Hên, or Lomarchus, a Welsh poet who was contemporary with the destruction of Uriconium. He says in relation to that event,

"With grief have I looked from the high-plac'd
City of Ercall upon the verdant vale of Fruer
For the desolation of my social friends."

The epithet "high-placed" sufficiently explains the meaning of the word "Ercall." The archaeologist has then to take a long stride to the era of Domesday Book. The Rev. R. W. Eyton devotes no fewer than

fifty-one pages of his great work to the Norman and Early English records of this parish, with which, as he observes, some of the greatest names in our county history are associated. The Saxon and Domesday status of Ercall was similar to that of Wellington. In the words of the great Ordnance Survey it is described as follows:—"The Earl (Roger de Montgomery) himself holds Archalon. Earl Eduin (the Saxon) held it with five Berewicks. Here are VII. hides. In demesne there are VI. ox teams, and XII. neat-herds. Here XXIX. villians and XIII. Boors have XV. teams. Here (or belonging here) two mills render—or pay—XII. measures of corn annually, and there is a fishery of—annually productive of—1,502 great eels and one league of wood. In King Edward's time the manor was worth £20 a year, and now—in 1086—it is worth the same. According to custom, when the Countess visits the manor, eighteen sums of 20d. each (octo decim ore denarium) are brought to her." One of these mills was the mill of Bradford, afterwards held by the monks of Haughmond, and interesting as afterwards giving a name to a Hundred and a title to an Earldom, and the other that still standing below this place on the Roden. The eighteen sums presented to the Countess on her visits seem to correspond with the present townships of the parish, with the addition of Rodington, and the two members designated as lost by Mr. Eyton—Schirlow and Wilsitheland. The first of these lost members I take to be identical with the locality of the farm known to-day as Sherlowe. The Schirlow of the Norman survey was held in 1251 by the Abbot of Wombridge. It is described in the chartulary of that priory as "lying on the green way which leads towards Arcall." It adjoined Wilsitheland, which lay upon the river, near or opposite Rodenhurst, where the Priors of Wombridge had free fisheries of lucas (pike), bream, and other fishes at pleasure. Part of it was uncultivated in 1304, when William Lord of Ercalwe allowed the canons of Wombridge to improve their waste (vasta) at Schirlow. The identity of the modern Sherlowe with the Schirlow of Domesday is fairly established by the fact that it adjoined the other lost member, Wilsitheland. This last place, from its proximity to Rodenhurst, must have been south-west of Ercall, and its exact position is pointed out in several fields adjoining Sherlowe, and the river, in Mr. Steedman's occupation, and still known as the Weeselands, or, as they are called, the parish books, the Withlands. Twelve years after Domesday (1098) we find Hamo Peverill, a baron of the court of the great Norman earl of Shrewsbury, enfeoffed in Ercall, and his descendants so remained until 1271, when the homage of their knightly tenants, the De Erkalwes, was granted by the last recorded Peverill to Sir Richard Burnell, Archbishop of York, in exchange for his homage and service, and the annual rent of one chaplet of roses. After 1294 nothing more is heard of the Peverills. Their rights then became lost, or obsolete, and the tenants of the manor thenceforth held under the Burnells, who had become owners in capite. At the end of the thirteenth century William de Ercall, the vassal of Bishop Burnell, married Petronilla, the Bishop's niece, and in 1300 he and his wife gave a ninth of the sheaves of a carucate of land in Ercall to Brewood Nunnery. These ninths, the grant recites, the grantors were not

bound to pay to the Canons of Wombridge, to whom the great tithes of Ercall were given in the twenty-ninth year of Henry III.; also they gave to the same religious house a ninth of their hay near Tyne, except that of Wennemore meadow, and for security they assigned the Abbess a power of distress on Ercall Mill. The Ercalles remain as tenants of the manor down to 1346, when, on the demise of William de Ercall, William de Caverswall took possession under a fine levied at York in 1334. He appears by a recital of Henry III.'s charter (by which the De Ercalls had a right to hold a market here on Mondays, and a fair on the eve of the feast of the Nativity of the B. V. M., and the day after) to have been cousin and heir of the last of that race. In 1391 Peter de Careswell enfeoffed Thomas Newport, parson of the Church of Eyton, in the manor of Ercall, retaining the life interest for his own and his wife's life, with remainder to Thomas Gech and his heirs. But in 1398 these Careswells surrendered their life interests to Thomas Gech, Isabel his wife, and Thomas their son, reserving a rent of £50 per annum, and receiving £200 in cash. This Thomas Gech was nephew of Thomas Newport, the parson of Eyton, and Thomas Newport, Esq., of High Ercall, who served as sheriff in 1403, was his son. Thus the Newports became Lords of Ercall. Their history in connection with Ercall was destined to be an eventful one. When the family attained knightly rank is uncertain. In the early part of Elizabeth's reign, the tithes of Ercall, which belonged up to her father's spoliation of the monasteries to Wombridge priory, were given to Sir Richard Newport, Knight. In 1643 Sir Richard Newport, Knight, was created Baron Newport of High Ercall by Charles I. This was the Newport who advanced a great loan of money and plate, amounting to £6,000 sterling, for the King's use to put the Artillery in order for the campaign which ended with the battle of Edgehill; but his name does not appear to "the Solemn Engagement and Resolution" of the Corbets, the Eytons, the Actons, the Cressetts, the Pigotts, the Sandfords, and others of the Shropshire gentry who "raised and maintained at their own charges forces for the defence of His Majestie, their country, and themselves." In Commonwealth days this gentleman compounded for his estates on their forfeiture by payment of £3,287 down and £170 per annum. In 1682 his son and successor, Francis, who was one of the prisoners taken by the Parliamentary forces at the siege of Oswestry, and had subsequently married a daughter of the now ducal house of Bedford, was raised a step in the peerage by the title of Viscount Newport of Bradford, and was appointed Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household to Charles II.; and in 1695 he was raised to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Earl of Bradford, by William of Orange, who conferred also upon him the same courtly offices which he had held under Charles II. This peerage became extinct in 1762 on the death of Earl Thomas, but in 1794 it was revived in the person of his nephew, Sir Henry Bridgman. The erection of the fine old house was begun in 1608 by Sir Francis Newport, Knight, on the foundations of or in addition to the ancient residence of the De Ercalls, of which the arches now standing in an isolated position in rear of the present building may be a portion. It was near here that in levelling a mound

Mr. Steedman's labourers came upon a quantity of coins, about 1,000 in number, and weighing no less than 12½ pounds. The greater part were of the reign of Charles I., some of Elizabeth, and a few of Philip and Mary. Cannon balls and musket bullets have been also found here. There is no mention of a church here in the Domesday Survey. The mother church of the parish, Mr. Eyton thinks, stood at Rodington. But within eight years the supremacy was given to Ercall, as in 1094 "the church of Archalou with all things pertaining thereto" was given by Earl Roger to Shrewsbury Abbey. That the first church here was not of Saxon origin is proven by the fact that it was dedicated to S. Edward the Confessor. Probably it was erected by the Norman earl. The church consists of a nave, with north and south aisles, chancel, and chancel aisle. The arcades are of great beauty, and typically illustrate the style of the period. The bases of the pillars are, however, evidently of greater age than the pillars themselves, and may have been portions of the original Norman structure. They resemble very closely the bases of the pillars at Buildwas. The curious and almost grotesque carvings on some of the capitals are very interesting objects, and of unusual occurrence in a thirteenth century church. In excavating the nave and aisles, the slab now near the memorial cross was uncovered. It bears an inscription somewhat similar to that on the tomb of Shakespeare, in Stratford Church, and records the interment of "John Hotchkiss, vicar, 1689," with the addition, "Let no man disturb these bones." In the earth beneath the workmen found a human skull of gigantic size, and perfectly white, as though it had been bleached by exposure to the air and weather, but no other bones. The monumental effigy of a Crusader was removed to its present position in the church in 1864. Several chapels in the parish owned Ercall as the mother church. These were Rodington and Waters Upton (both of which were separated in 1341), and Isombridge, Roden, Poynton, and Rowton. The four last named have long since been destroyed. A vestige, however, remains of Poynton Church. Its west end, with a fine thirteenth century window, is still visible as part of a farm building near to the former residence of the De Penintons, who held Peventon in the time of Henry III., by payment of an annual rent of a pair of gilt spurs. In this house is a finely wainscoted room, with a smaller room, similarly wainscoted with oak, opening out of it. Rowton Church as it now stands is a modern erection, and of the chapel of Sleap (Slepa) there is no record beyond the vaguest tradition. The remnant of the fine old half-timbered house of the Windsors at Walton was taken down a few years ago. The chimneys of the old structure were not unlike those at Plash.—Rev. A. T. Pelham read a paper on "Moreton Corbet." The history of Morton Corbet is full of interest to Shropshire people. It belonged to a great Saxon landowner at the time of the Conquest, and by the marriage of Sir Richard Corbet, of Wattlesborough, with Joanna Turet, the heiress of Bartholomew Turet, the great Saxon squire in question, it passed into the family of the Shropshire Corbets, and has remained in their possession ever since. The present Sir Vincent Corbet, Bart., of Acton Reynald, is the twenty-fourth in direct succession from Robert, the son of Hugh

Corbet, who came over from Normandy with William the Conqueror. It is thought that possibly an ancestor may have been standard-bearer to Rollo, and have derived his name from the raven, Rollo's emblem, which he carried. Whether this were so or no, Corbet gave his name to the Pays de Caux, a tract of country between Rouen and Havre, which had Candebee for its capital. If one happens to go up the Seine from Havre to Rouen, one is struck with the picturesque appearance of Candebee. This was the home of the Shropshire Corbets, and they were great people in those days. "The Corbet" (his Christian name seems to have been Hugh) had four sons, Hugh, Roger, Renand, and Robert. Hugh and Renand remained in France, while Roger and Robert went with their father to the battle of Hastings. Hugh was a knight and a benefactor to the Abbey of Bec. Renand was kindled with the enthusiasm of the age, and went off to Palestine in 1096, with his two sons, Robert and Guy. Robert held fifteen manors in Shropshire, under Earl Roger de Montgomery, chiefly lying about the Stiperstones and the Longmynd. His line expired with his son, Robert Corbet, Lord of Alcester, who left no issue. Robert Corbet, at Domesday, held under the Earl twenty manors in this county, including chiefly the parishes of Alberbury, Pontesbury, Westbury, Cardeston, and Worthen, including Bausley and Loton, still held by the Leightons, his descendants. His son William is stated to have made Wattlesborough his residence, and no doubt dwelt in that ancient castle. William had three sons—Thomas Corbet of Wattlesborough (the pilgrim), Robert of Caus, and Philip. As a rule, the Shropshire Corbets at this time had their hands quite full in keeping the border in these troublous times against the Welsh. Thomas, however, bitten with the enthusiasm of the age, and possibly with the love of travel also, left his lands in charge of his brother, Robert of Caus, and went off beyond the sea on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. No doubt he met his cousins there from St. Pol, and for some reason or other stayed away some four or five years. It is said that his brother, despairing of his return and of his having an heir, was celebrating his own wedding, when Thomas appeared with his palm, and revealed himself as the long-lost brother. Thomas, however, had not been to the Holy Land for nothing, and when the bridegroom would have surrendered the estates, he declined the offer, and desired only a small portion of the land, which he accordingly received. The descendants of Robert were barons of the realm, Lords Corbet of Caus. Thomas, the elder, contented himself with Wattlesborough. Thomas the pilgrim's son, Roger, was father of Sir Richard Corbet, who married Joanna Turet, the heiress of Moreton Corbet. The Wattlesborough Corbets seem shortly to have deserted that less genial spot, and to have made Moreton their chief residence. Robert Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, grandson of Sir Richard, was Sheriff in 1288, in the reign of Edward I. In 1419, in the reign of Henry V., Robert Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, fourth in descent from the said Robert, was Sheriff. He married Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Mallory. He was tenth in descent from Roger, son of Corbet, who came over with the Conqueror, and the present Sir Vincent is fourteenth in descent from him. In 1304,

Robert Corbet II., born December 25th, 1304, whose life was nearly co-extensive with the long reign of Edward III., purchased Shawbury from Giles de Erdington about 1359. Shawbury was the mother church of Moreton Corbet, and the chapel of Moreton was consecrated by Bishop Clinton, the founder of Buildwas Abbey, about 1140. Bishop Clinton, too, went off to the Crusades, and died fighting in the Holy Land. The Abbot and Convent of Haughmond appointed both to Shawbury and Moreton, which is uniformly styled a vicarage. In the Corbet aisle in Moreton Corbet Church there are two altar tombs, with recumbent figures, in good preservation. They commemorate (1) Sir Robert Corbet and Elizabeth his wife, and their eighteen children; some appear to have died in infancy, and some were blind. The other tomb commemorates Sir Richard Corbet, and Margaret his wife, formerly wife of Sir Thomas Wortley, of Wortley, in the county of York, and daughter of Sir John Saville, of Thornhill, in the county of York. The said Sir Richard died July 16th, 1566. Robert Corbet, son of Sir Andrew, must have been a remarkable man. He had been a great traveller in his early days, and he is said to have brought from Italy the designs for the splendid mansion the dilapidated remains of which are to be seen at Moreton Corbet. He did not live to finish the house, dying in 1783.

Bucks Architectural and Archaeological Society.—The Annual Excursion.—July 19th.—The district selected was the neighbourhood of Beaconsfield, Bulstrode, and Gerrard's Cross, which is interesting from its association with Edmund Burke, the poet Waller, and William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, three of the many celebrities of whom the county of Bucks is so justly proud. Beaconsfield Church, which is built of flints, faced with stone, and of quaint architecture, was first entered, and attention naturally centred in the first instance on the burial-place of the great orator and statesman Burke, which is under the nave. A brass was placed in the pavement in 1862 by Edmund Haviland Burke, great-grand-nephew and representative of Edmund Burke, and other members of the family, "to mark the grave of the greatest of their name." The company next assembling near the chancel screen, the rector favoured them with a brief account of the church and town. He explained that the letters A and S are both modern importations in the name of Beaconsfield. The name had nothing to do with "Beacon," and the first two syllables were never so pronounced by the inhabitants. "An open space in the beech woods" was the true meaning of the designation. The rector further stated that when Burnham Abbey was founded in 1265 a nunnery was formed at this place, and on its site the old rectory (now unoccupied) was built. The church was probably erected for the accommodation of the inhabitants of houses which sprang up in the district after the nunnery was instituted; but there were no traces of this. The present church is modern, except for one pillar of the old church, which remains. Every brass is gone. The rector directed attention to a monument of the Bulstrode family (which is much time-worn), and also to an *escritoire* in the vestry which is constructed of the oak that formed Burke's family pew. The several mural tablets in

the church (including some in memory of members of the Du Pré family) were also investigated. In the churchyard the company visited Waller's tomb, on which is a large sarcophagus of white marble, having four urns, with a pyramid in the centre, and on it a Latin inscription which descants on Waller's poetic genius and private virtues. A visit was next paid to the old rectory, an Elizabethan building, which is now in a much dilapidated state, and, like many other uninhabited houses, said to be "haunted." In one of the rooms is a large closet, with a small aperture for ventilation, and in this gloomy space inmates who transgressed the rules of the ancient convent are said to have been imprisoned as a punishment. They next drove to the Gregories, the site of Burke's residence, which was burnt to the ground while the property of the late Mr. Du Pré, the fire leaving only the stables, which now form part of the premises of an adjoining farm. A dip in the soil marks the basement of the statesman's residence. Another drive brought the excursionists to the substantial old residence of Mr. C. G. Du Pré, in Wilton Park, and they then proceeded among the glorious old trees of the park on to Bulstrode, a seat of the Duke of Somerset. The pictures include works by Raphael, Carlo Dolci, Savory, and Vandyck, with a quaint pair representing St. Anthony at his devotions (by Stenwick), and among them are a number of fine portraits, including one of Charles X. of France, presented by his Majesty to the Duchess of Somerset. The next visit was paid to "The Encampment," on the outskirts of the park, which, after a journey over a number of wooded fields, was found to be an oval ridge of earth enclosing a large plateau of meadow land. Concerning this interesting relic, the Rev. B. Burgess read a paper:—"This oval entrenchment contains as much as twenty or twenty-one acres, and whenever it was made, it must have been a work of great labour, energetically done, for a fixed purpose. It reminds us of the earthworks at Cholesbury and Maidenbower, near Dunstable, and also of those of Whelpley Hill, Hawridge, and Desborough. It is on record that in January, 1010, the Danes left London and passed through Chiltern to Oxford, and if, as has been supposed, the fortification of Desborough was made by the Saxons in its present form to resist an attack by the invaders as they passed along the road below, the position of this camp at Bulstrode more than suggests that it had a like origin, situated in the high tableland, so near the way from London. Whether or not there may have been a stockaded British village on the same site it is impossible to say; but it must strike one as agreeing with the well-known description of Caesar's suggested by the camp of Cassivelaunus, with its large number of men and cattle within the enclosure (in *De Bello Gallico*). The vallum appears to have crumbled away very much on the western side. The oaks, standing high in the air upon their arched roots, show that the ground was higher in their young days. There appear to have been six entrances. A portion of flint wall, apparently part of a gateway, remains at the northern entrance. The original name of the Bulstrode family was Shobbington, and this their chief seat was in the family for several ages before the arrival of the Normans. The Norman Conqueror, however, granted

the estate to one of his nobles; but the head of the Shobbingtons resolved rather to die upon the spot than part with his possessions. In this resolution he armed his servants and tenants, whose number was very considerable, upon which the Norman lord obtained of the King 1,000 of his regular troops to enable him to take possession of the estate by force. Whereupon Shobbington applied to his relations and friends to assist him, and the two ancient families of the Hampdens and Penns, illustrious in the annals not only of Bucks, but of England and America, took arms, together with their servants and tenants, and came to his relief. All the Shobbington party having assembled, they cast up entrenchments, and the Norman, with his forces, encamped before them. Now, whether it was that the Saxons wanted horses or not is uncertain, but the story goes that having managed a number of bulls, they mounted them, and, sallying out in the night, surprised the Normans in their camp, killed many of them, and put the rest to flight. The King, having intelligence of this, and not thinking it safe for him, while his power was yet new and unsettled, to drive a daring and obstinate people to despair, sent a herald to them to know what they would have, and promised Shobbington a safe conduct if he would come to Court, which Shobbington accordingly did, riding thither on a bull, accompanied by his seven sons. Being introduced into the royal presence, the King asked him why he dared to resist when the rest of the kingdom had submitted to his government. Shobbington answered that he and his ancestors had long enjoyed that estate, and that if he would permit him to keep it, he would become his subject and be faithful to him. The King therefore granted him the free enjoyment of his estate, upon which the family was from thence called Shobbington, *alias* Bulstrode. But in process of time the first name was discontinued, and that of Bulstrode only has remained to them. The manor of Bulstrode was in possession of the Abbey of Burnham, founded in 1265 by Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans. The Abbey had license to alienate it to William de Montacute, Earl of Sarum, who in 1338 gave it to the Abbey of Bisham, but after the Reformation the Bulstrodes were in full possession again. Their names, with those of their relatives the Whitelocks of Fawley Court, appear in the history of the times of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II. Sir James Whitelock, who married Elizabeth Bulstrode, was an eminent judge, and father of Lord Keeper Whitelock. Sir Richard Bulstrode, a learned lawyer and author, a brave soldier and good man, followed the fortunes of the Stuarts through good and evil report. When nearly eighty years of age he accompanied James II. to France, and died at the Court of St. Germain's shortly after he had completed his 101st year. The manor was bought by the infamous Judge Jefferys of Sir Roger Hill, M.P. for Wendover. He was Chief Justice—a sad misnomer—of Chester. In the patent of his baronetcy, dated 1681, he is called Sir George Jefferys of Bulstrode. He built a mansion here in 1686 of reddish brick, 'blood-stained, as the people declared it to be in Jefferys' time.' This was burnt, it appears, and he then removed to the Grange at Chalfont St. Peter's. The property was sold by the son-in-law

of Lord Jefferys to the Earl of Portland, who had had the chief superintendence of the expedition which placed William III. on the throne. The King visited him at Bulstrode. Brasses of the Bulstrode family still exist in Upton Church, and in Hedgerley Church is a very curious palimpsest brass of Mrs. Margaret Bulstrode, who died in 1540. The marriage register contains the following entry:—"William, the son of Sir Thomas Stringer and the daughter of George Lord Jeffery, Baron of Wem, and Lord High Chancellor of England, married by my Lord Bishop of Rochester, Oct. 15th, 1587. Henry Paisley, rector." A drive through a narrow lane brought the company to the village of Hedgerley. Another drive carried the party to the church of Gerrard's Cross, which is of an architecture rarely to be met with in ecclesiastical edifices, being built on the model of the cathedral at Florence. A visit was at once paid to the parish church, a modern Gothic building, standing on a slight elevation. Mr. Liggins proceeded to give a short account of the fabric. Time did not permit the visit to the grave of Penn at Jordans, which had been intended; and a paper, which Mr. Robert Gibbs, of Aylesbury, had prepared, had to be taken as read. The altar-rails, brasses, and other features of the old church were, however, introduced in the new fabric. One of the brasses was in memory of Margaret, wife of Edward Bulstrode, who died in 1540, and in the removal it was found that the reverse side of this had been previously used for a memorial to an abbot of St. Edmundsbury, who died two centuries before. The brass exhibits the figure of a lady attired in a dress of the period of Henry VIII., together with her ten sons and three daughters. The pulpit rail and other woodwork were stated to have been taken from a church at Antigua, in the West Indies, where Mr. Liggins has an estate. The font is ancient, but nothing is known of its origin. Leaving Hedgerley, the party had another country drive of a few miles, which brought them to Hall Barn. Mr. and Mrs. Lawson received their visitors. Various relics of Edmund Burke and of the poet Waller—who built the older portion of the house—were laid on the table, and Mr. Lawson proceeded to address the company upon them. He promised to escort the company to "The Grotto," where Waller was supposed to have written many of his poems, and in which Milton occasionally sat. The larger rooms of the house, he said, were built by Sir Gore Ouseley for the reception of Queen Adelaide and the King. Several articles which formerly adorned it had passed into the possession of Mr. Du Pré, and his predecessors sold a portion of the estate to Edmund Burke. Mr. Lawson then directed attention to the relics on the table, including a letter to Burke from William Pitt; a few notes in Burke's own handwriting—rough notes for Parliamentary speeches, among them one relating to a speech about Warren Hastings as follows:—"Hastings worth nothing; he has left nobody else worth anything;" and a dagger which formed the subject of a memorable incident.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

John o' Groat's House.—In the reign of James IV. of Scotland, Malcolm, Gavin, and John de Groat—supposed to have been brothers, and originally from Holland—arrived in Caithness from the south of Scotland, bringing with them a letter written in Latin by that Prince, recommending them to the countenance and protection of his loving subjects in the county of Caithness. They purchased or got possession of the lands of Warse and Dungisbay, lying in the parish of Canisbay on the side of the Pentland Frith, and each of them obtained an equal share of the property they acquired. In process of time their families increased, and there came to be eight different proprietors of the name of Groat, who possessed these lands amongst them; but whether the three original settlers split their property among their children, or whether they purchased for them small possessions from one another, does not appear.

Those eight families having lived peaceably and comfortably in their small possessions for a number of years, established an annual meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the arrival of their ancestors on that coast. In the course of their festivity on one of these occasions, a question arose respecting the right of taking the door, and sitting at the head of the table, and suchlike points of precedence (each contending for the seniority and chieftainship of the clan), which increased to such a height, and would probably have proved fatal in its consequences to some, if not to all of them, had not John de Groat, who was proprietor of the ferry, interposed. He having acquired more knowledge of mankind by his constant intercourse with strangers passing the Pentland Firth, saw the danger of such disputes, and having had address enough to procure silence, he began with expatiating on the comfort and happiness they had hitherto enjoyed since their arrival in that remote corner, owing to the harmony which had subsisted among them. He assured them that as soon as they appeared to split and quarrel among themselves, their neighbours, who till then had treated them with respect, would fall upon them, take their property from them, and expel them from the county. He therefore conjured them, by the ties of blood and their mutual safety, to return quietly that night, and he pledged himself that he would satisfy them all with respect to precedence, and prevent the possibility of such disputes among them at their future meetings. They all acquiesced and departed in peace. In due time, John de Groat, to fulfil his engagement, built a room distinct by itself of an octagon shape, with eight doors and windows in it, and having placed in the middle a table of oak of the same shape, when the next anniversary meeting took place, he desired each of them to enter at his own door, and sit at the head of the table, he taking himself the seat that was left unoccupied. By this ingenious contrivance any dispute in regard to rank was prevented, as they all found themselves on a footing of equality, and their former harmony and good-humour were restored. The building was then named John o' Groat's House, and

though the house is totally gone, the place where it stood still retains the name, and deserves to be remembered as long as good intentions and good sense are estimable in a country.

The particulars above mentioned were communicated to John Sutherland, Esq., of Webster, above fifty years ago by his father, who was then advanced in life, and who had seen the letter written by James IV. in the possession of George Groat, of Warse. The remains of the oak table have been seen by many now living, who have inscribed their names on it.—*Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii., 167—169.

Sir Walter Rawleigh's Case.—Termino Michaelis, anno decimo sexto Jacobi regis in Banco Regis. Memorandum, This Term, Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight, who was attainted of treason, Term. Mich. primo Jac. at Winchester before Commissioners, and had been a prisoner in the Tower always afterward, until about three years last past, that he was permitted to go at large, and had a Commission for a voyage to Guiana, and after his return was remanded to the Tower, The Record of the Attainder being brought and certified into the Kings Bench; was by Hab. Corp. directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower, brought unto the Bar, where Yelverton the Kings Attorney shewed how by the Kings favour he had lived thus long, and had since done acts, for which injustice he ought not to be further spared, and the King had given command to pray Execution; wherefore he now prayed Execution of this Judgment for the King: And hereupon Sir W. R. being demanded what he could say, why the Court should not proceed and grant execution against him, answered, that he could not deny but that he was attainted of Treason as aforesaid, yet he supposed, having committed no other Acts since, the King would not cause Execution upon the former Judgment; And he conceived, that in regard the King had granted him so large a Commission for his Majesties and the Realms service, and thereby had given him authority to execute judicial Law and power over the lives of others, that it was a dispensation unto him for his former offences, and he ought not now to be called in question for them: But the Court replied unto him, that he being attainted of Treason, there could not be discharge thereof, but by the Kings express pardon; And no Treason could be pardoned but by express words mentioning it; And the King might use the Service of any of his Subjects in what employment he pleased, and it should not be any dispensation for former offences: And Yelverton Attorney told him, that he had since committed offences which were just causes of proceeding against him, but he being a prisoner attainted and dead in Law, there could not be any proceedings for these new offences, but to take execution upon the former Judgment, which he prayed might be done: Whereupon Montague Chief Justice used some words of Exhortation to the Prisoner, and then commanded that Execution should be done according to the first Judgment, not mentioning any of the offences, or former Judgment; And the Lieutenant of the Tower had the prisoner delivered into his custody, and the Sheriffs of Midd. had a writ given them in the Hall to receive him, and to do execution; which was done the day after Simon and Jude, in the great Court betwixt the Hall and Saint Peters Church.

—Second Part of *Croke's Reports*, edition 1683, pp. 495, 496.

British Canoe from the Tyne.—Mr. W. Aubone Hoyle, of Denton Hall, Newcastle, exhibited at the last meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries a British canoe, which had been found in the Tyne a year or two ago, and read the following notes upon it:—"The heavy snowstorms of the winter of 1880-1 did not thaw until the middle of March, causing a very big flood in the Tyne. On the 18th March, 1881, the flood subsided, leaving about 12 inches of one end of the canoe sticking out above the sand, between high and low water-mark, about 50 yards above Scotswood Railway Bridge, on the south side of the Tyne, where a footpath passes by the river side. The tide was flowing at the time, and it was then too late that day to recover the canoe. Next day it was dug out of the sand; it was then jet black and as soft as a ripe cheese. The day following, by Dr. Bruce's advice, it was buried in an out-house in ashes. At the end of twelve months it was still damp, and was reburied in sand; at the end of a second twelve months it was gradually uncovered, and a month ago was finally exposed to the air in its present condition. At the same time that it was found, a quantity of large trunks and roots of trees was also washed up on to the sand above and below the same place, which presented a similar appearance to the canoe—being black and soft. As that part of the river is used for landing salmon nets, the salmon fishermen removed most of the logs of wood, as they interfered with their fishing operations, but many of them are still lying by the edge of the river." The canoe is about nine feet in length and two feet in width, and has been cut out of one log, the marks of the tools being clearly visible on the inner sides. It is supposed to be of oak, but the wood is brown and stringy, so that it is impossible to say what kind of wood it is made of.

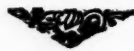
Original Deed Relating to Madeley Court, Shropshire.—Being concerned lately in making extracts from the Original Deeds and Records of Madeley Court Estate, Shropshire, which, with the fine old Manor House, formerly belonged to Wenlock Abbey, I came across the enclosed extract from the *MS. Book of the Prior of "Wenloc,"* of the early date of 1343, which may be sufficiently interesting to record in *THE ANTIQUARY*. It is being printed in an interesting account of Madeley Court, very shortly to be published, by Mr. John Randall, Madeley, Salop, with whose consent I forward it.

ORDINATIO VICARIE DE MADELEY COM: SALOP:
E LIBRO M.S. DE WENLOCK; P. 15.

Universis Sancte Matris Filiis ad quos presentes Literae pervenerint Frater Guychardus Prior Monasterii Sancte Milburgae de Wenloc Hereford: Dioc: Ordinis Cluniacensis, et ejusdem loci Conventus Salutem, in eo qui est vera Salus. Nouerit Universitas vestra quod cum parochialis Ecclesia de Madeley Prioris Diocesis: antedictae, cum iuribus et pertinentiis suis Universis Ecclesiae Nostrae Conventuali et Monasterio nostro predicto Canonice sit unita et appropriata, concurrentibus hiis quae de jure requiruntur in hac parte salva tamen portione congrua proventuum et Redituum dictae Ecclesiae perpetuis Vicariis inibi Deo

servientibus. Nos hujusmodi portionem de incerto vagari nolentes, sed eam potius certis finibus et rebus dotare et linitare, prout de jure tenemur, Dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni de Brugge, perpetuo Vicario ejusdem Ecclesie et futuris Vicariis successoribus suis in eadem, pro congrua portione assignamus integram Mansionem Rectorie cum tota domu ab antiquo Rectoribus ejusdem assignata una cum omnibus minutis decimis totius parochie, obitis et Mortuariis Mortuis quorumcunque parochianorum ipsius Ecclesie. Vivis tamen Mortuariis nobis Priori et Conventui reservatis, una cum omnibus decimis Croftorum aratro cultorum et salva etiam quadam annua pensione duorum Solidorum et sex denariorum precentori Ecclesie nostre de Wenloc per dictum Vicarium solvend : annuatim, in quindena pasche, pro minutis decimis de la Newtown, eidem precentori ab antiquo assignata : ad hæc etiam Ordinamus quod dictus Vicarius omnia onera ordinaria et extraordinaria dicte Ecclesie incumbentia et Successores sui Vicarii Ecclesie antedictæ supportabit et supportabunt in perpetuum ; quibuscunque decimis per Dominum Papam * seu clerum qualitercunque impositis et imponendis duntaxat exceptis. In quorum omnium Testimonium sigillum Nostrum commune parti hujus Indenture penes dictum Vicarium remanenti duximus apponendum : Idem Johannes Sigillum suum apposuit. Datum apud Wenloc in Capitulo nostro Decimo die Mensis Martii anno 1343.

"This is a true Copy formerly taken from the MS. Book of ye Abby (sic) of Wenloc by me, Geo : Plaxton, Rr. of Berwick, in *Elinet* (?) Come : Ebor."



Obituary.

James Crossley, F.S.A.—Mr. Crossley, president for thirty-five years of the Chetham Society, died 1st August, 1883, at his residence, Stocks House, Cheetham, at the age of eighty-three. In May last, whilst on a visit to London, he slipped on the platform of the Euston Station, and injured his arm. The accident necessitated confinement to his house, and about a fortnight ago symptoms of a serious illness appeared. He has been gradually sinking since, and he passed away quietly. The death of Mr. Crossley removes from our midst a man who has done much in the antiquarian world. He has been resident in Manchester sixty-seven years. He was a contributor when little more than a youth to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, and later he was one of the chief supports of the *Retrospective Review*. In 1843, the Chetham Society was founded, at a meeting held in Mr. Crossley's house in Booth Street, Piccadilly, Dr. Edward Holme being elected the first president. On Dr. Holme's death in 1868, Mr. Crossley was appointed to the office, and he has held it since. Besides the works which he edited for

* "Dominum Papam." This was Clement VI. (Peter Roger, Archbishop of Rouen and a cardinal); elected 7th May, 1342, and crowned the 19th of the same month; died 6th December, 1352.—H. P.

the Society, he exercised a general directing control over its publications, and there is scarcely a volume out of the one hundred and ten already issued that is not enriched with notes from his pen, or to which he did not contribute valuable aid in the way of counsel. He was president also of the Spenser Society and the Record Society, and an active member of the Roxburgh Club, the Philobiblion Society, and the English Dialect Society. Besides being a great collector himself, he was always ready to give his services to any object of a bibliographical kind. He thus rendered valuable aid to the committee established for the formation of the Manchester Free Libraries, and since the death of Mr. Thomas Jones he has acted as honorary librarian at the Chetham Library.



Antiquarian News.

A writer in the *North Wales Chronicle* says:—"The following has been found on Rhiwia Farm, Aber, near the other milestone. It was erected to commemorate the two emperors Lucius Septimus Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Date 211. A.D. IMPP. CAES. L SEP. SEVERUS P.P. ET. M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS A. CCVII."

Several interesting discoveries have been made during the reparation of the parish church of Hodnet, Salop, which once belonged to the Abbot of Shrewsbury. The earliest rector of this parish of whom any record remains was "Master G. de Weston," parson of Hodeneth, "who was one of the witnesses to an agreement drawn up between Odo of Hodnet, son of Baldwyn, and the Abbot of Shrewsbury, with respect to the right of 'assart' (a clearing in a place covered with timber) in the wood of 'Wlfreton'" (Wollerton). A perfect Norman doorway supposed to be the "priest's doorway" has been found in the wall between the east end of the nave and the chancel. On removing the floor a fine piece of carved oak was brought to light, and a large number of skeletons were unearthed. The owner of one of these skulls seems to have met with the fate of Sisera, for a nail was found firmly embedded in it, which had apparently been driven through the top of the head into the brain. The workmen came upon several graves hewn out of the rock, containing skeletons of persons who had been buried without coffins. A large slab was also discovered bearing an inscription in memory of two members of the Arneway family, who died in 1661 and 1656 respectively. Dr. Arneway, one of the rectors of Hodnet, was ejected from his living during the Commonwealth, and went to Virginia, where he died. Bishop Heber was for more than fifteen years rector of this parish.

The work in connection with the restoration of Macclesfield Church has so far caused one or two interesting archaeological discoveries. The removal of the pews in the south aisle brought to light on the north side of the Savage Chapel shields, crests, and

quarterings of the Savage family, which have been concealed since 1740; also a portion of a beautiful oak choir stall-end (which has had a revolving seat), and which had been doing duty, reversed, as a support to one of the pews. An old creed-table, face downwards, was also found doing duty as a pew flooring.

The parish church of St. Oswald, Sowerby, which has been closed for some months, while the work of restoration was being carried on, has been reopened. The earliest church at Sowerby of which any part remains appears to have been built about the year 1140, and is consequently in the Norman style. Of this church the nave alone remains, and this is so altered that but for the fine old doorway, few would, on a casual view, imagine there was any old work in it. A more close inspection, however, would show the Norman mouldings along each side of the nave, and much of the walling is also of the same date. The lower part of the tower appears to have been added in the seventeenth century, while all the rest of the church is very poor work of some forty years ago, built in what was then considered a fair imitation of the Norman style, but completely wanting in its massiveness and other characteristic features. The church as then altered and enlarged is cruciform in plan, with an octagonal form.

A member of the Ephorate of the celebrated Armenian monastery at Ersindjian, in Asiatic Turkey, recently sold to a French archaeologist who was travelling in those parts several interesting relics of ancient Armenian art belonging to the church of the place in question. The relics consist of four pictures of saints artistically worked upon velvet, and are many centuries old. The traveller at first bought two of these objects, and sent them to Europe. He was afterwards requested to purchase any other he could find, and succeeded in securing the remaining pair. It had been the custom to display these four pictures at certain festivals of the Church, and it was not long before their absence was remarked. On being called to account, the Armenian who had disposed of them confessed that he had sold the precious relics for 11 fr. It was believed that they had only been sent to Smyrna, and the Armenian Archbishop, Melchisedek, of that city, was requested, if possible, to recover them. The purchaser, however, who was in Smyrna, declared that he had sent them to Europe, and that it would be necessary to apply to the present possessor. The Armenian papers, in reporting the case, state that the relics are worth a thousand times as much as the Frenchman gave for them. The property of Karabet Kurdian, the native who unlawfully disposed of the pictures, is to be confiscated; but little hope is entertained that they will ever again reach the hands of their rightful owners at Ersindjian.

The *Builder* says that in the Capitol at Rome two Gothic rooms, containing fine frescoes of the Umbrian school towards the end of the fifteenth century, have been discovered. An inscription indicates the painter to have been "Pietro Spagnolo di Miccieliello," probably the father of Giovanni Spagna, whom Vasari mentions as a pupil of Perugino, and as envied even by Raphael.

Professor Max Müller, writing to the *Times* with respect to the announcement of the death of Iwakura Tomoni, one of the Ministers of the Emperor of Japan, says:—"The late Minister took an active interest in the search after Sanskrit MSS. in Japan. I had a letter from him, dated Tokio, March 28th, in which he informed me that he had at last succeeded in getting an accurate photograph executed of the ancient palm-leaf, which has been kept as a sacred relic in the temple of Horiuzi since 500 A.D., and is, therefore, the most ancient Sanskrit MS. now in existence. This photograph has actually arrived, and I hope soon to publish an autotype copy of it. The Minister promised to do all in his power to get information as to similar treasures that might be hidden in the temples and monasteries of Japan, little imagining that but a few weeks after his useful career would be cut short by death. Iwakura Tomoni visited England some ten years ago as chief Ambassador of the Mikado, and one of his sons was educated at Oxford."

Much correspondence has been going on in the newspapers respecting the so-called "Shapira Manuscripts." They consist of pieces of skin containing portions of the Book of Deuteronomy and the Commandments, in Phœnician characters, which have been recovered from a Bedouin tribe located on the eastern side of the Jordan. The period to which the writing is to be referred is identical with that of the Moabite Stone—that is about 800 B.C. The documents are in slips, the skin being dark and discoloured, and the writing requiring to be brought out with spirits of wine. They have been examined by Mr. Bond, the principal librarian of the British Museum; Dr. Ginsberg; Mr. Aldis Wright, of Cambridge; Dr. Horning, of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum; Dr. Van Starland and Mr. Ernest Bridge, severally of the Hebrew and Assyrian Departments of that institution. Serious doubts are thrown upon the authenticity of these manuscripts, which will probably take high rank in the future in the somewhat long list of famous forgeries.

A farmer named Jonathan Evans, of the Foel, Llangadfan, made a very interesting discovery recently. As he was ploughing in a field near the river Banwy, his plough came in contact with a stone, which was found to be of very large size, and when cleared it was discovered to be the upper stone of an ancient tomb. It was covered by a mound of earth, or barrow, chiefly formed of clay, and the place had been always noticed to be elevated above the rest of the field. When the ground was cleared, the stone lid was found to be very large, weighing, it is supposed, not less than a ton and a half. There were four stones under it, and it was formed into a regular chest, and the bottom of it was neatly paved with small stones. The sides of the chest consisted of very thick stones, except one of them, which seemed to be a kind of entrance or doorway. In the clay, about the place of interment, were found pieces of an urn of very rude formation, and a few bones scattered here and there about the place. It seemed that an entrance had been made into the tomb by breaking a part of the thin stone, which formed a kind of doorway, and probably the urn, which was inside, was

taken out, when it went to pieces. Several monuments of this kind have been found at different times in this parish, as we learn from the history of it published in the "Montgomeryshire Collections for 1868," written by the present rector, the Rev. G. Edwards. Some of them were covered with cairns of stone or barrows, and others, like the present one, with a mound of earth. It is likely the fragments found belong to more than one urn, as they were a good deal scattered in the clay about the place. The bones were deposited with the ashes, after burning the body, in an urn, and these, when the urn went to pieces, were scattered about in the clay. A few of these were found here and there in the clay, and mixed with what seemed to be ashes.

The restoration of St. James, Avebury, which has been five years in progress, has brought to light elements of the greatest antiquarian and historic interest; not only has the old Saxon church been revealed identical with the present nave, with its unglazed windows, its rude, string course, and its external coat of mortar, as sound, apparently, as when it was applied a thousand years ago, but indications have been revealed of a still earlier *British* church, formed of "wattle and daub," the floor of which was found at a depth of two feet below that of the present church, which is within an inch or two of the level of the floor at the time when Norman aisles were added to the nave at the beginning of the twelfth century. Masonry dating from probably the eighth or ninth century has recently been found. In the Saxon period the church consisted of a nave (without aisles) and probably an apse and porch, although the two latter have disappeared. In the twelfth century the side walls of the nave were pierced, an arcade of two arches on each side inserted, and north and south aisles added. The fine south doorway with its corbel over, the angle shafts to the responds of nave arcades, and the charming little window in the west end of north aisle, with the font (a well-known and interesting specimen), are all that can now be seen of this period. Late in the thirteenth, or early in the fourteenth century, the present chancel was built, and the chancel arch inserted. In the fifteenth century a great deal of work appears to have been done to the church. The north and south aisle walls (with the exception of the west wall of north aisle) were rebuilt, and the tower and porch erected. The ambulatory passage connecting the north aisle with the chancel, the piscina at east end of north aisle, which was then used as a chapel, and the hagioscope or squint between chancel and south aisle, are also of this date. In the following century a deficiency of light in the nave appears to have been felt, and two windows of a debased type were inserted in the south clerestory wall of nave. Again, early in the present century, the Norman arcade was taken out, new shafts with classical caps and bases, copied (it is said) from Calne Church, were erected, and the Norman arch stones reused in new arches of pointed form. The chancel, south aisle, and porch have now been restored, new roofs being given to them, and the vestry and organ chamber added. Three new windows in the south clerestory of the nave, in lieu of the debased one alluded to, have been put in, and three to correspond on the north side,

where none existed but the hidden Saxon openings referred to below. The two lower Saxon windows of nave were also opened out. It was then found practicable to repair and retain the old fifteenth century roof of the nave, which it had been intended to remove. The oak ceiling of the north aisle has been faithfully copied from the much-decayed original, line for line, and it rests on the outside Saxon string course separating the lower range of windows from the clerestory. The stone corbels of this ceiling had been destroyed, and the new ones are conjectural; but, with this exception, the design is that of the fifteenth century architect. At the time of Mr. Ponting's first connection with the work, he found three stones pierced with circular openings, and bearing evidence of being windows of Saxon date. These were lying amongst the rubbish in the churchyard, and, it was remembered, had been removed in inserting the three new north clerestory windows. Further research revealed another of exactly similar description *in situ* indicating their proper level; and measurements of the positions of this and the lower window previously opened showed that there were originally, in each side wall of the nave, four of the lower single lights, with one of these small circular ones over each, and the massive string course (on which the north aisle roof now rests) between, on the outside. The use of these holes was indicated on opening out the inside splay of the one found *in situ*, when it was seen that a "centre" or cage of "wattle" work, on which to construct the circular interval splay, was formed by inserting in them sticks reaching to the inside face of the wall, and interlacing with them, in the opposite direction, smaller split sticks, as in basket and hurdle work. The inside of this cage was plastered, and a portion of this (the only piece sound) has been retained. Remains of corresponding openings on the south side can be seen above the roof of aisle. The Saxon walls were covered on the exterior with plaster, and this had been retained as the inside plastering of the north aisle both in Norman and Mediæval times, and we are glad to observe that Mr. Ponting has found it practicable (by pouring in liquid cement grout to secure it to the walls) to hand on to posterity a piece of this ancient plaster, which can be seen at the south-west angle of the aisle. The antiquity of this plastering was an interesting point which has been proved in the most conclusive manner; for on taking down, for the purpose of rebuilding, the crumbling late twelfth century masonry of the west wall of the north aisle, it was found to have been built *against* the face of the Saxon nave, forming a straight joint vertically, instead of, as is usual, being bonded into the wall; and the plastering was found to run quite through this junction of Saxon and Norman work, thus showing it to be older than the latter. It was also carried around the quoins, which are of the Saxon "long-and-short" work, and are now exposed on the north side of the tower. These show the walls of the Saxon nave to have been within a foot of the height of what they now are. The church is not rich in mural monuments. A small portion of the tomb of a priest was discovered. The tomb of one John Truslowe, dated 1593, is the earliest, and records in doggerel rhyme how he lived and died, and his testamentary dispositions.

The Lord Mayor of London, in conformity with an ancient custom, has received from her Majesty warrants for four fat bucks from Windsor Great Park. The Sheriffs, at the same time, have had three bucks presented them, and the Recorder, Chamberlain, Town Clerk, Common Serjeant, and Remembrancer, one each. In the winter a similar number of does are presented. These venison warrants had their origin in the early charters granted to the citizens of London, in which their "huntings" were secured to them. As far back as 1101 King Henry I. granted and confirmed by charter that "the citizens of London should have their chases to hunt as well and as fully as their ancestors had—that is to say, in Chiltre (Hertfordshire), and in Middlesex and Surrey." The privilege was confirmed by three subsequent charters by King Henry II., John, and Henry III. Fitzstephen, in his description of London (1174), expressly mentions the privileges of the citizens to hunt in Middlesex and Hertfordshire, and also in Kent as far as the river Cray. There is an original warrant in the British Museum, dated 1428, granting the Lord Mayor six fat bucks, two from Eltham Park and two from Windsor, and it is signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and six others. Fabyan, in his chronicles, gives an account of a grand hunt, to which the citizens were invited by King Edward IV. in 1481, in the forest of Waltham; and he states that afterwards the King, of his great bounty, sent to the Mayoress and her sisters, the aldermen's wives, two harts and six bucks, with a tun of wine to drink with the venison, and that the entertainment was held in Drapers' Hall. In 1821, after the accession of George IV., an attempt was made to question the privilege of the civic dignitaries to receive venison warrants, but the right was satisfactorily established as a commutation for the chartered privileges of the citizens to hunt in the royal parks and forests.

A remarkable monument, says the *Athenaeum*, has been found within the ancient town of Ariccia, at the foot of the hill formerly occupied by the Acropolis, and now by the modern village. In laying down the pipes of the aqueduct which brings to Albano the waters from the "Facciate di Nemi," and which follows the line of the Via Appia across the crater and lake-bed of Ariccia, several blocks of marble were discovered at the place called the "Torrione de Chigi." Orders were issued by the Minister of Instruction for a thorough exploration of the neighbourhood. Thirty-seven huge blocks of marble were brought to light, belonging, as it seems, to a portico ornamented with columns of *cipollino*. The architectural details are very elaborate, especially the frieze, worked in wreaths and festoons. There is also an inscription, on a slab of marble 10 ft. long, 5 ft. high, with the name of Latinus Pandusa. Tacitus, "Ann." ii. 66, speaks of him as being proprietor of Moesia, A.D. 19. He died in the same year, during the tenure of his office. The monument at Ariccia must have been built by him in his younger days, at the beginning of his career, as no mention is made by the inscription of any employment higher than the *vigintiviratus*.

Mr. John Henry Parker has presented to the Ashmolean Museum 500 drawings of ancient Rome, chiefly

by Prof. Cicconetti. Mr. Parker had previously presented to the museum 3,400 photographs which he had collected during the fifteen seasons that he was in Rome. Of the photographs he has printed a catalogue, and of the drawings he is now making one.

The parish church of Barnstaple has been restored. The church of this old Saxon borough does not present considerable architectural or archaeological features of interest as a structure; but its importance mainly rests on its antiquity and history, its associations and its monuments, all of which possess features of interest, and will well repay notice and examination. The original of the present fabric dates only from A.D. 1318, which is the first actual record of its consecration. The first actual reference, however, to a church existing at Barnstaple is the statement given by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, and subsequently set out by Lysons, that "The tithes of Barnstaple were appropriated to Malmesbury Abbey, to which abbey the church had been given by King Athelstan." This appropriation rendered Barnstaple a vicarage, which it has been ever since. Nothing further is recorded of the church until the Conquest, when it was again appropriated and formed part of the grant made on the foundation of the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene by Judhael, the son of Alured, on whom the manor and lordship of Barnstaple had been bestowed by the Conqueror. In 1311 Bishop Stapleton assigned the alterage of small tithes, etc., for the further support of the vicar. This brings us just to the period when the existing church was built, and from whence its history as a building commences. It has been a debated point as to how much of the structure of 1318 actually remains, but there can be no doubt that the existing tower, transept, and west wall of nave were of this date—the two windows of the tower and the facing of the walling clearly show it to be quite as early. The window of the transept was of the same period, though the original tracery and some of the stone work was removed in 1811. It is clear that there must have been a tower of the same period as the general structure, which formed one arm of the original cruciform building, but the steeple raised was not added until seventy years later, having been erected at the cost of the town in 1389. This structure, formed entirely of wood covered with lead, misshapen and devoid of all beauty, has narrowly escaped destruction on several occasions from fire and tempest, the first of which occurred above a century since, and is supposed to have caused the deflection of the spire so considerably out of the perpendicular. It still exists, however, despite all the restorations and the inconvenience caused by its peculiar position, having been preserved mainly out of deference to the opinion of Sir Gilbert Scott. There are no records from which it is possible to obtain the exact dates of the addition of the different aisles; their appearance points to their having been erected at different periods, and the south aisle subsequently widened, and perhaps the nave also, which causes the effect of the tower being apparently thrust forward into the body of the church. The north aisle was again altered about the end of the fifteenth century, as shown by the windows, but the construction of the roof leaves little doubt that that was not touched. The chancel aisles, originally formed out of the old chapels,

were either built or altered at a later period. The ancient arcades were taken down in 1811 and 1823, giving place to very unmeaning columns, totally altering the original character of the church, which, no doubt, was, at the commencement, a well-proportioned cruciform building.

At the sixth annual meeting of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the report of the committee was read. It pointed out with regret the disastrous nature of the works now in progress at the Tower, involving the manufacture of a sham mediæval fortress, and the destruction of historic buildings. In addition the report speaks of the injurious effect of the so-called "restoration" of the once noble churches of St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, Rye, St. Crux at York, Leigh, Herefordshire, and other places. In several cases the clergy in charge of ancient buildings have consulted the committee, and received practical advice as to the proper treatment and judicious repair of imperilled structures. To meet the charges incurred in giving such counsel the report appeals for increased funds. The committee had, with chequered fortune, during the past year, been active in promoting the preservation of about one hundred and twenty English and nine foreign buildings.

The members of the York Architectural Association visited Knaresborough recently. The Castle, which occupies an elevated situation, standing out in bold relief above the town, was first visited. The scattered ruins show on examination that it has been a fortress of great extent. The site commands a splendid view of the river, also the Dropping Well on the opposite side, the skirting woods, the railway viaduct, Parish Church, Conyngnam Hall, and part of the town. The members then proceeded to the Parish Church, where an interesting inspection was made. It contains many monuments and epitaphs of interest. One monument, which was greatly admired by the members, and which was received within the last few years from Rome, consists of a full length marble figure of Sir Charles Slingsby, who was drowned whilst hunting a few years ago. St. Robert's Chapel was the next place visited. It is a small place, skilfully hollowed out of the solid rock. On one side of the entrance is the rude figure of a Knight Templar in the act of drawing his sword. The roof and altar are adorned with Gothic ornaments, and on each side of the altar are places for holy water.

The "Notes and Queries" column of the *Winchester Observer and County News* appears to have met with marked success. It is therefore proposed to reprint the articles appearing in it in yearly volumes, of about 200 pages, with full index. The first volume is published under the title of "Hampshire Notes and Queries." We shall gladly welcome an addition to the gradually increasing series of local "Notes and Queries," and we wish the promoters every success in their undertaking.

Now that so much talk is going on respecting the Dene or Dane holes, it is well to draw attention to the views of so great an authority as Mr. Roach Smith, which will be found in the sixth volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua*. Mr. Smith laid great stress upon the great antiquity of these chalk-pits, and re-

ferred to Pliny's description of the white chalk called *argentaria*, used by silversmiths for cleaning plate. Pliny says it is obtained by means of pits sunk like wells, with narrow mouths, to the depth sometimes of one hundred feet, where they branch out like the veins of mines; and this kind is chiefly used in Britain. We shall hope to reprint Mr. Roach Smith's valuable remarks in our next number.

An obelisk has been discovered at Rome, close to the church of Santa Maria Minerva. An examination, as far as is yet possible, shows that it is covered with hieroglyphics, and about the size of that now erected on the Piazza Minerva. As a Sphinx was recently found in the same locality, there is little doubt that a temple of Isis existed on the spot.

In the course of excavations in the Via S. Ignazio at Rome, several Egyptian antiquities have recently been discovered. They include an obelisk bearing the cartouch of Rameses II., a sphinx of basalt, and a cynocephalus.

It is understood that Lord Darnley, with the assistance of Mr. Roach Smith, will give a full account of the hoard of Roman coins found in Cobham Park in the forthcoming volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. The coins (over 800) are chiefly confined to the reigns of Constantius II., Constans, and Magnentius.



Correspondence.

INSCRIPTION AT HAGENAU.

(viii. 85.)

These lines may probably have accompanied a figure of Janus, denoting the printing-house of Johannes Secerius (Jean Secer), whose books, printed at Hagenau from 1523 to about 1535, bear the head or full-length figure of Janus as a typographical device.

In the second line, ME is a certain correction for MB; and *videnda* would satisfy the requirements of sense and metre in the last line. V.

SILCHESTER.

Mr. Napper, in the last number of *THE ANTIQUARY*, states that Silchester was built in the reign of Constantius II.! Mr. Napper cannot have read all that has been printed on this interesting place. So far from its being of a date so late, it was a town in the very earliest times of Roman rule. Inscriptions show that in the reign of Severus it must have been in its glory. The British coins of *Calleva* speak of its existence in the time of Augustus. F. S. A.

AIZEN.

My gardener told me the other day that the ivy would soon grow "up to the *aizen* of the house,"—meaning "the eaves." That was exactly the way in

which he pronounced it (rhyming with "brazen"); and it seems to be an interesting word, as it is evidently a regular phonetic contraction of *efesen*, the plural in *n* of the Anglo-Saxon *efese*; thus—

A.-S. efesen.

Pron. aivezen.

Contr. aivzen.

aizen.

It is a striking contrast to the way in which the standard language deals with the same word, corrupting *efese* into *caves*, as if it were a plural.

It may be noticed that *aizen* preserves in its first syllable the original sound of the Anglo-Saxon *e*.

We have *caves* in the standard language as a blundering plural, and *aizen* in the vernacular as a proper plural with regular phonetic contraction. The vernacular language is a true antiquary, preserving for us with accuracy, if not with loving care, the relics of the past.

D. P. F.

August, 1883.

THE BOXLEY ROOD.

I have read with interest the letters which my article brought forth, and also Mr. Surtees' paper; and I am glad to find that others agree with me in thinking that the monks of Boxley may possibly not have been so bad as they are commonly described. With the evidence as it is, however, I do not think that we can give a more favourable verdict than "not proven."

With your permission I wish to add one or two remarks to my former notes.

1. No description of the (supposed fraudulent) *mode of working* the image is given by Chambers; this I think is a point in favour of the monks. Fox very absurdly says that it was worked by a man placed *inside* it; others state vaguely that it was worked by one of the monks concealed in some way.

2. Lambard says clearly that his account of its origin was the one formerly published by the monks *in print*. He does not say, however, that he had himself seen this printed account; and as no copy of it seems to have been preserved to our times, we must be content with uncertainty. Should a copy be discovered, it will evidently set at rest the question of fraud, one way or the other.

J. BROWNBILL.

9th Aug., 1883.

HAZLETON.

Any particulars of the family of Hazleton, where it was located, and what arms it bore, will much oblige
CRUX.

OAK FURNITURE.

On reading the very interesting article in last month's *ANTIQUARY* on old oak furniture, I see that Mr. Udall complains of the injury done to a table of his by insects of some kind. Perhaps he will find the following recipe useful. Into each hole in the wood

drop, with a camel's-hair paint-brush, paraffin in which sulphur has been soaked. If any worms are at home, they will drop out in a few hours. Then fill up the holes with cobbler's wax. Of course the furniture should be placed with the mouths of the holes down; otherwise the insects will not drop out. I have not tried this recipe myself, but I send it in the hope that it may be of use to collectors of old oak.

E. EVA BOULT.

9, Lorne Road, Birkenhead.

A SUFFOLK BRASS.

It may be pleasant news to those readers of the *ANTIQUARY* who take an interest in East Anglian brasses to know that I have been able to restore to the proper authorities a plaque which for some time has been missing from the brass of John Drayles in the chancel of S. Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich.

The figures on the plaque represent his two sons, Thomas and John, the latter of whom was at one time incumbent of the above church. By a happy circumstance the plaque came into my possession during the autumn of 1879, and this summer I have had the pleasure of acquiring such evidence about it as has enabled me to hand it over to the care of its lawful custodians.

J. H. S.

Grantham, August 13th, 1883.

EARL MARSHAL.

With regard to a recent correspondence in the daily papers, it may be of interest to remark that the Earl Marshal of England—a quasi-hereditary office—is considerably the senior of the Lord High Admiral (now in abeyance) in point of creation of office. Gilbert Earl of Strigul served at the coronation of John as the King's Marshal. In a patent of the first year of Henry III., William Earl of Pembroke is styled "*Marescallus Regis et regni custos*." Walter Marshal was created "*Marescallus Anglie*" in the forty-second year of the same reign. These marshals were frequently entrusted with the highest commands from the time of Richard I., and they were unquestionably the natural leaders of the King's army in his absence. In the twenty-fifth year of Edward I., it will be remembered, the King looked to his marshal and constable (Norfolk and Hereford) to take command of the army in Gascony, and when they declined to serve was compelled to appoint substitutes. On the other hand, no patent for a lord high admiral, or his prototype in office, can, we believe, be found earlier than 48 Henry III., when a "*capitaneus*" of the King's ships and "*custos maris*" was appointed, whose duties seem to have only comprised victualling the royal galleys and defending the harbours. It is obvious, too, the title "*Admiral*" is of much later origin, if, as seems probable, the name is a corruption of the Turkish "*Amir*" or "*Emir*." Selden's etymology in point is commented on in a note amongst the Cotton MSS., and so nice a scholar as Milton wrote "*Amiral*."

H. H.

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